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THE MISSIONARY OUTLOOK IN THE LIGHT OF THE WAR

General

COMMITTEE ON THE WAR
AND THE RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK

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The Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook.

The Missionary Outlook in the Light of the War.

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THE MISSIONARY OUTLOOK IN THE LIGHT OF THE WAR

FINAL REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WAR AND THE RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK

Religion among American Men. (Ready.)

The Missionary Outlook in the Light of the War. (Ready.)

The Church and Industrial Reconstruction.

The Teaching Work of the Church in the Light of the Present Situation.

Principles of Christian Unity in the Light of the War.

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EDITORIAL PREFACE

I. *The Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook and Its Work*

This volume is one in a series of studies that is being brought out by the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook. The Committee was constituted, while the war was still in progress, by the joint action of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the General War-Time Commission of the Churches and was an expression of the conviction that the war had laid upon the Churches the duty of the most thorough self-examination. The Committee consisted of a small group of representative men and women of the various Protestant Churches, appointed "to consider the state of religion as revealed or affected by the war, with special reference to the duty and opportunity of the Churches, and to prepare these findings for submission to the Churches." While created through the initiative of the Federal Council and the General War-Time Commission, it was given entire freedom to act according to its own judgment and was empowered to add to its number.

The Committee was originally organized with President Henry Churchill King as its Chairman and Professor William Adams Brown as Vice-Chairman. On account of prolonged absence in Europe, President King was compelled to resign the chairmanship in the spring of 1919 and Professor Brown became the Chairman of the group, with President King and Rev. Charles W. Gilkey as Vice-Chairmen. Rev. Samuel McCrea Cavert was chosen to serve as Secretary of the Committee and Rev. Angus Dun as Associate Secretary.

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When the Committee began its work four main lines of inquiry suggested themselves as of chief importance:

1. What effect has the war had upon the personal religious experience? How far has it reenforced, how far altered the existing type of religious life and thought?

2. What effect has the war had upon the organized Christian Church? What changes, if any, are called for in its spirit and activities?

3. What effect has the war had upon Christian teaching? What changes, if any, are called for in the content or method of the Church's teaching?

4. What effect has the war had upon the duty of the Church with reference to social problems of the time? What reconstructions are needed to make our social order more Christian?

As the Committee proceeded with these inquiries, several distinct fields of investigation emerged and led the Committee to adopt the plan of bringing out a group of reports instead of a single volume. The first of these studies, which has already appeared, was entitled "Religion among American Men: as Revealed by a Study of Conditions in the Army," and dealt with the lessons that it was felt had been learned from the experience of the men in the army. The present volume is concerned with the Missionary Outlook in the Light of the War. Other forthcoming reports will deal with the Church and Industrial Reconstruction, the Teaching Work of the Church in the Light of the Present Situation, and Principles of Christian Unity in the Light of the War.

Earlier preliminary publications of the Committee consisted of a comprehensive bibliography on the War and Religion, and a series of pamphlets under the general heading "The Religious Outlook," of which the following numbers have thus far appeared:

"The War and the Religious Outlook," by Dr. Robert E. Speer; "Christian Principles Essential to a New

World Order," by President W. H. P. Faunce; "The Church's Message to the Nation," by Professor Harry Emerson Fosdick; "Christian Principles and Industrial Reconstruction," by Bishop Francis J. McConnell; "The Church and Religious Education," by President William Douglas Mackenzie; "The New Home Mission of the Church," by Dr. William P. Shriver; "Christian Aspects of Economic Reconstruction," by Professor Herbert N. Shenton; "The War and the Woman Point of View," by Rhoda E. McCulloch. Other numbers in the series of pamphlets are also under consideration.

Our special thanks are due to Association Press, which has assumed responsibility for issuing the publications of the Committee.

II. *The Present Volume*

The report on The Missionary Outlook in the Light of the War has been prepared by a special sub-committee with Dr. Robert E. Speer as its Chairman and Rev. Samuel McCrea Cavert as its Secretary. It is entirely to this special group that the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook is indebted for this timely and significant study.

This sub-committee held three conferences for the discussion of problems and the formulation of its point of view, one of them being of the nature of a two days' retreat (September 12 and 13, 1919) at Wallace Lodge, Yonkers. In one or more of these conferences the following have participated:

Rev. Brenton T. Badley of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Rev. F. W. Bible of China; Professor O. E. Brown of Vanderbilt Theological Seminary; Rev. Samuel McCrea Cavert, Secretary of the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook; Rev. William I. Chamberlain of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America;

Miss Eliza P. Cobb of the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America; Rev. A. E. Cory of the Interchurch World Movement of North America; Rev. Stephen J. Corey of the Foreign Christian Missionary Society; Mrs. E. C. Cronk of the Interchurch World Movement of North America; Rev. Sydney J. L. Crouch of the Sudan; Miss Alice M. Davison of the Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions; Rev. C. S. Deming of Korea; Tyler Dennett of the Interchurch World Movement of North America; Rev. Thomas S. Donohugh of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Mrs. Katherine W. Eddy of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations; Galen M. Fisher of Japan; Rev. Arthur R. Gray of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church; Rev. H. D. Griswold of India; Rev. Sidney L. Gulick of the Federal Council's Commission on Relations with the Orient; Mrs. Ida W. Harrison of the Christian Woman's Board of Missions; Rev. Robert A. Hume of India; Professor Robert E. Hume of The Union Theological Seminary; Charles D. Hurrey of the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations; Rev. Samuel G. Inman of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America; E. C. Jenkins of the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations; E. C. Jones of China; Rev. H. K. W. Kumm of the United Sudan Mission; Professor Frank A. Lombard of Japan; Rev. Henry W. Luce of China; Mrs. William A. Montgomery of the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society; Mrs. Henry W. Peabody of the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society; Rev. F. M. Potter of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America; Dr. E. C. Richardson of Princeton University; Rev. Frank K. Sanders of the Board of Missionary Preparation; Rev. W. G. Shella-

bear of Malaysia; Rev. G. A. Sowash of North Africa; Dr. Robert E. Speer of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions; Rev. James M. Springer of Central Africa; Rev. James D. Taylor of Africa; Fennell P. Turner of the Committee on Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference; Rev. Charles R. Watson of the Board of Trustees of Cairo University; W. Reginald Wheeler of China; Rev. John E. Williams of China.

In addition to those who were present at conferences the following have contributed to the study:

Rev. W. B. Anderson of the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church; Canon W. H. T. Gairdner of Egypt; Rev. James S. Gale of Korea; Professor Cleland B. McAfee of McCormick Theological Seminary; Professor Duncan B. Macdonald of Hartford Theological Seminary; President Charles T. Paul of the College of Missions; Dr. W. E. Weld of India; Rev. Samuel M. Zwemer of Arabia.

To still others the Committee is grateful for their cooperation by replies to questionnaires.

In the Table of Contents the names of those who have been chiefly responsible for the various parts of the report are set beneath the titles of the chapters. It should be understood, however, that in no case is a single individual wholly responsible for any section. Many of the chapters, especially those dealing with the particular fields, rest on data gathered from wide correspondence with missionaries on furlough in this country. In all cases the general subject matter has been submitted to the sub-committee for discussion, criticism, and suggestions.

For the final form of the volume an editorial committee consisting of the Secretary, in consultation with Dr. Frank K. Sanders, is responsible. They have been given freedom to make whatever revision seemed wise in order to secure systematic treatment and continuity of thought. The unity of the report is largely due to their thoroughgoing work.

Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most striking things about America's participation in the World War was the way in which the great ideas and principles of the missionary enterprise were taken over and declared by the nation as its moral aims in the conflict. The war as we ideally conceived it was waged with five clear moral aims: the establishing of permanent peace, the safeguarding of democracy and human freedom, the application of the law of righteousness to nations as well as to individuals, service to humanity, the securing of a social order based on brotherhood. When we have said these things what have we done but put into political terms, in connection with the great struggle, the aims and ideals and purposes for which many men have been living all their lives, which have actuated the missionary enterprise, and which underlie it today?

The missionary movement has been in the world as an instrumentality of peace and international good will. Wherever it has gone, it has erased racial prejudice and bitterness, the great root of international conflict and struggle. It has helped men to understand one another. Missionaries have been a conciliatory influence again and again, and have allayed hostility which diplomats and traders have aroused. The *Jiji Shimpo,* one of the leading newspapers in Japan, spoke of this in advocating the sending of Buddhist missionaries to Korea. "Japanese visiting Korea will be chiefly bent upon the pursuit of gain and will not be disposed to pay much attention to the sentiments and customs of the Koreans or to allow their spirit to be controlled by any consideration of the country

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or the people. That was the case with foreigners in the early days of Japan's intercourse with them, and there can be no doubt that many serious troubles would have occurred had not the Christian missionary acted as a counterbalancing influence. The Christian missionary not only showed to the Japanese the altruistic side of the Occidental character, but also by his teaching and his preaching imparted a new and attractive aspect to intercourse which would otherwise have seemed masterful and repellent. The Japanese cannot thank the Christian missionary too much for the admirable leaven that he introduced into their relations with foreigners, nor can they do better than follow the example that he has set, in their own intercourse with the Koreans." For a hundred years the missionary enterprise has been an agency of tranquillity and peace over the entire world, getting men acquainted with one another, showing the unselfishness that lies behind much that seems to be and often is so purely selfish.

It has been a great agency of righteousness. As the years have gone by, it alone has represented in many non-Christian lands the inner moral character of the Western world. By our political agencies and activities we have forced great wrongs upon the non-Christian peoples—commercial exploitation, the liquor traffic, the slave trade in Africa and the South Sea Islands, and the opium traffic in China. Against these things the one element of the West that has been a clear protest has been the missionary enterprise. Year after year in those lands it has joined with what wholesome moral sentiment existed among the people in a death struggle against the great iniquities that Western civilization had spread over the world.

It has been and is a great instrumentality of human service. It has scattered tens of thousands of men and women over many lands, teaching schools in city and country, in town and village. It has built its hospitals by

the thousand. It has sent its medical missionaries to deal every year with millions of sick and diseased peoples in Asia and Africa. It has been the one great, continuing, unselfish agency of unquestioning, loving, human service throughout the world, dealing not with emergency needs of famine and flood and pestilence alone, but, year in and year out, serving all human need and seeking to introduce into human society the creative and healing influence of Christ. "Whatever you may be told to the contrary," said Sir Bartle Frere, formerly Governor of Bombay, "the teaching of Christianity among 160,000,000 of civilized, industrious Hindus and Mohammedans in India is effecting changes, moral, social and political, which for extent and rapidity of effect are far more extraordinary than anything that you or your fathers have witnessed in modern Europe."

Foreign missions has been a great agency of human unity and concord. It, at least, has believed and acted upon the belief that all men belong to one family. It has laughed at racial discords and prejudices. It has made itself unpopular with many representatives of the Western nations who have gone into the non-Christian world, because it has not been willing to foster racial distrust, because it has insisted on bridging the divisions which separated men of different bloods and different nationalities. We are talking now about building the new world after the war. But it would be hopeless if we had not already begun it. We are talking about some form of international organization. It may need to be very simple, with few and primitive functions, but it must come. And it can come only as, first, we sustain in men's hearts a faith in its possibility; as, second, we devise the instrumentalities necessary to it and make them effective; as, third, we build up a spirit that will support it. Across the world for a hundred years the missionary enterprise has been the proclamation that this day must come, and that some such international body of relationships as this,

based on right principles, must be set up among the nations of the world.

It would not be hard to go on analyzing further what the missionary enterprise has been doing. It has been doing peacefully, constructively, unselfishly, quietly, for a hundred years the things that, in a great outburst of titanic and necessarily destructive struggle, we tried to do by war. I say it again, that one of the most significant things of the day is to see how the great ideals and purposes of the missionary enterprise, that have been the commonplaces of some men's lives, have been gathered up as a great moral discovery and made the legitimate moral aims of the nation in the great conflict in which we have been engaged.

And now that the war is done the question looks at us squarely. Do we mean all that we said and fought for? If we were right then are we not bound to go right on now and do by life in peace what we were ready to do by death in war? The need for achieving the things we fought for is here today all over the world. The missionary enterprise is the honest effort to achieve them.

And we need the missionary enterprise now, strong, living, aggressive, because we require, more than we have ever required them in the past, every possible agency of international good will and interpretation. In the early years of the war our Government sent word to the consuls, in China especially, that Americans ought not to come home; that if ever they were needed there, they were needed then, that they might correctly represent what the moral purposes of America were, and that by their good will and friendliness they might be true ambassadors of our spirit. We need not less today, but more than ever, the shuttles of sympathy and service that fly to and fro across the chasms of race. The misunderstandings of the world are a tragic thing. We little realize how deep and terrible they are; the innumerable millions of men on the other side of the world whose minds are unknown

to us and to whom what we are thinking is unknown, in whose thought there has never entered the conviction of our unselfish interest in the whole human family, and of our desire not to injure but to benefit both ourselves and with us all mankind. As never before in the history of the world, we require every possible agency of interpretation, of international fellowship and brotherhood to be thrown across the chasms that separate the races and nations of men.

The great negative energies of destruction such as war releases can never achieve the things that have to be done in the world. Such work has to be done by great principles, by living ideals, by the Spirit of God. Mere mechanisms, the thunder of guns, the massing of bodies of men never can do it. They can build walls against the onset of wrong; they cannot replace it. We have to let loose creative and constructive spiritual powers if that is to be done, and there is no creative and constructive power the equal of that which Christ released. In Christ alone today is the power of saving men and of redeeming society. To give Him to the world is to do the work the world needs more than it needs anything else. No man can do better with his life today or accomplish more for the world than by going out to acquaint men with Christ and to lead all nations to obey and follow Christ as Saviour and Lord.

For four years the world has poured out life and wealth without limit. It was a struggle which ought never to have been. But, once precipitated, there was but one thing to do, and that was for an outraged world to go through with it at whatever cost and to spare nothing until the threatened calamity was removed and the liberties of the world secured. And now the struggle is past. Shall the sacrifices made for war be discontinued or shall we be ready to do for peace and for the coming of the kingdom of righteousness all that we did for war and for the prevention of what we believed to be the threatened

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destruction of the freedom of mankind? Were not those sacrifices rational only as we now complete and perfect them in their perpetual consecration to the establishment of the reign of Christ in human life?

The pages of this report, we believe, will establish all that has been said in this introduction, and more. It is an earnest attempt to survey the facts of the situation which we today confront and to draw out the just and necessary conclusions. It is not an attempt to find or to set forth any new gospel. There is one gospel only, the Gospel of Jesus Christ as the one Saviour and Lord of mankind. But there is a new demonstration of humanity's need of this Gospel and of the adequacy of the Gospel to meet that need. The evidence and the conclusions which this report enforces are here set forth by competent men with restraint and conviction, and the Committee has sought, through several conferences and through the careful work of an editorial sub-committee, to give to the report a real unity and the face of an associated judgment.

PART I

THE ENHANCED SIGNIFICANCE AND URGENCY OF FOREIGN MISSIONS IN THE LIGHT OF THE WAR

CHAPTER I

FOREIGN MISSIONS AS A PREPARATION DURING THE PAST CENTURY FOR THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM

For more than a century foreign missions has been quietly laying the foundations of what we now call the new internationalism. When the Christian pioneers a hundred years ago initiated the modern missionary program and took the first step in spanning the distance between the East and the West with the spirit of brotherhood, it was a prophecy of the new day that was to come in international affairs. And the history of foreign missions ever since has been a record of influences that have been breaking down racial barriers, interpreting the East and the West to each other, revealing the idealistic side of Western life, incarnating the spirit of service and good will, developing in non-Christian lands a leadership sympathetic to democracy, promoting friendly contacts between widely separated peoples, and in other ways hastening the coming of a higher type of international relations.

But we cannot intelligently discuss the way in which foreign missions has been a preparation for the new internationalism except with the background of what it has contributed to national developments in the East, for true internationalism necessarily presupposes national units among which relations are to be effected. The strength and value of any internationalism ultimately depend upon the richness of the national groups that comprise it. The individual nation is related to the

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international order as the individual person is related to the social order. Society cannot prosper at the expense of the individual. Neither can we have an ideal internationalism at the price of impoverished and depreciated nationalism. A social order that suppresses individual self-expression and denies individual opportunity for self-realization is cultivating a suicidal principle. An international ideal that would suppress national genius and withhold national opportunity for bringing its people and resources to their best would be hindering, not promoting, world life and progress. We need, therefore, at the outset to remind ourselves of the contribution that foreign missions has made to the rising spirit of nationalism in the East.

I. Foreign Missions and Nationalism

It is a fact of no small significance that the development of modern missions is synchronous with the rise of modern nationalism in the West. The outstanding political feature of the nineteenth century was unquestionably the growth of independent, self-governing nations. "The history of the past century," said Professor Reinsch, writing in 1900, "has been the history of the arrangement of national boundaries, the development of national ambitions, the formation of national policies, the definition of national responsibilities, the sharpened distinction of national characteristics, the realization and resolute prosecution of national destinies." Between 1815 and 1900 almost every war in Europe represented either an attempt by a subject nationality to establish its unity and independence or a clash of already independent nations in the interests of expansion and defense. With this period of national awakening the development of modern missions is contemporaneous.

It is particularly worthy of note that the beginnings of the modern missionary advance date from the period

of national conflict and development ushered in by the American War of Independence, the French Revolution, and the end of the Napoleonic wars. It is furthermore significant that the greatest missionary expansion has taken place during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth —the period when Western nationalism was assuming its intenser forms, with the unification of Italy, the consolidation of Austria-Hungary, the rise of Germany after the Franco-Prussian War, the dogged efforts of France at self-recovery, the conflict in the Balkans, the growth of British imperialism, and the development of the United States after the Civil War.

It was inevitable that missionaries, though professing a higher allegiance than that to any earthly state and though deliberately seeking to transcend all racial prejudices and national limitations, should nevertheless convey to the people to whom they went something of their own patriotic spirit and nationalistic aspiration. Certain it is that missions, especially through the dissemination of literature and the vast range of its educational institutions and activities, has been a great factor in acquainting Eastern peoples with the national history, policies, and ideals of Western countries. By abundant examples it could be shown how these contacts established by missions have resulted in the awakening of new national ambitions in the non-Christian peoples, unconsciously arousing them to the formulation and prosecution of new national programs in which the assimilation of foreign elements has been combined with a revitalization of indigenous institutions and ideals.

But the chief contribution of missions to the rise of national self-consciousness in the East lies on a deeper level than this. In addition to bringing to these peoples a knowledge of Western nationalism, the missionary brought also a gospel which proclaimed new life for the individual, asserted the worth of all men in the sight of

God, kindled faith in the possibilities of men, and stimulated a sense of social responsibility. Such a message, brought by men who identified themselves with the interests of the people to whom they came, could not help having an indirect effect upon national aspirations in many lands. The promotion of nationalism is, of course, no part of the missionaries' conscious work. The development of a worthy national life is, however, an inevitable by-product of the Christian message and the Christian character.

There is hardly a country in the East where the name of some missionary is not linked up with the modern development of the nation. The name of Verbeck is readily recognized as high in the list of the "makers of the New Japan." Alexander Duff and that splendid galaxy of Christian educators who have given their lives to India go far toward explaining all that is best in the Indian aspiration for a new national life. "In much of what is taking place [in India] the missionary can see the seed of Christian ideals beginning to spring forth from the soil. Nationality, liberty, enlightenment, the raising of the multitude—all these are not strange words in Christian ears." As for China, a former American consul-general at Peking has pointed out that the handful of Chinese leaders who precipitated the revolution and brought new political hopes to a quarter of the world's population, the new patriots who have been trying to recast imperial China into a republican mould, were practically all products of missionary teaching. Truly did Li Yuan Hung, ex-President of the Chinese Republic, say, "China would not be aroused today as it is were it not for the missionaries." The names of Morrison, Williams, Martin, Allen, Richards, and others at once come to mind in vindication of this statement. The present political status of South Africa is explicable only in the light of what Moffat and Livingstone and Mackenzie have done in the Dark Continent. And these are but typical

of a far greater number who, through their missionary service, have built up educational programs for a people, developed industrial life, been counselors to national leaders, or in other ways contributed to the making of the new East.

It has been no part of the missionary enterprise to disintegrate this national consciousness. Rather it has tended to promote and to guide national ambitions to higher ends. The missionary has held before the nations —is holding before them today—the ideal of a Christian national life, insisting that it must be built on righteousness, and presenting Christianity as the power without which the highest nationhood cannot be realized.

II. Foreign Missions and Internationalism

It needs no prophet to foresee that as nationalism has been the keynote of the political history of the nineteenth century, so internationalism is to be the keynote of the history of the twentieth. This was evident before the World War and is still more unmistakable today.

In the presence of this rising internationalism the significance of missions becomes magnified almost beyond the power of words to describe. The very existence of the foreign missionary movement is a living witness to the solidarity of the human race. Its objective is the realization of the Kingdom of God, embracing all peoples. Its passion to save and uplift goes out to man as man, not primarily to men as Chinese, Hindu, or African.

In its spiritual gifts, its ethical demands on character, and its obligations of service, Christianity is a leveler not only of extreme individualism but also of self-centered nationalism. While ministering to the national group it points to a higher unity. It regards nations not as ends in themselves, but as potential constituents of a world-wide brotherhood. It has proclaimed the world over that "no man liveth unto himself" and that no nation

liveth unto itself. The doctrine of the universal fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man proclaimed on every mission field has taught men to think in terms of that higher spiritual order where racial differences are harmoniously combined. Particularly significant is it that the good news of an all-embracing, super-racial Kingdom of God has been most widely made known during the past seventy years, the very period when all the countries of the world have been made near neighbors, drawn together by commerce, colonial expansion, travel, and multiplied means of intercourse.

Of course, foreign missions has been by no means the only force that has been unconsciously working to bring about the internationalism of the present day. The importance of the economic factor, for example, has been tremendous. Unheard-of facilities for intercommunication and transportation have made distant nations near neighbors, have brought isolated peoples into the current of the world's life, and have made, as it were, one market for the products of the world. In the whole economic sphere nations have become intertwined and interdependent in a way undreamed of a century ago.

But economic interests do not in themselves provide those creative forces that make for the kind of attitude and spirit essential to a family of free nations. Facilities for intercommunication may be abused as readily as rightfully used. It all depends upon whether there is a disposition toward cooperation or toward domination, whether there is the will-to-service or the will-to-power. Economic imperialism is as antagonistic to a true internationalism as is political imperialism. If nations would only learn that the good of each lies in the good of all, mutual economic interdependence would be a powerful factor in binding the nations together; but economic interests are still so largely conceived in a narrow and individualistic way that they stir up rivalries, jealousy, suspicion, ill will, and even war. In the commercial realm the

goal of each nation has too easily tended to become exploitation of others, or at least selfish profit regardless of others' advantage, instead of mutual service and the common good. Social order and permanent peace will never come from the supremacy of the purely economic motive. They will come only from some source that touches the deep levels of the conscience and the heart.

For the old internationalism, which aimed at the domination of other nations by a super-nation or at a balance of power in the interest of an exclusive group, moral and spiritual elements were unnecessary. It needed only the machinery of shrewd diplomacy, jealous competition, secrecy, deception, and war. But the new internationalism is an effort at, and a passion for, a social and moral order among the nations. Its goal is an organized society of free peoples living harmoniously and helpfully together. It needs machinery for cooperation and mutual service and has, therefore, finally to rest upon a foundation of friendship and good will. We are thus brought face to face with the vital necessity in world affairs for the message and work and spirit of Christian missions.

There appeared in the *New Republic* last June a profoundly significant article by the Jewish author, Israel Zangwill, entitled "Converted Missionaries," significant because of its revelation of the impression made even upon a strongly prejudiced mind by the service of missions to the cause of the new internationalism. The author tells in a semi-humorous vein of his ordering from a newsdealer a new publication called the *International Review* which was to deal with problems connected with the League of Nations, but receiving by mistake the *International Review of Missions.* Mr. Zangwill writes: "When a small boy solemnly delivered to my rural retreat an *International Review of Missions,* I was divided between annoyance and amusement. To send me this—me of all persons in the world—to whom missionaries had been anathema since childhood; conceived as a sort of

spiritual spiders in wait for the Jewish soul and spinning a wicked web of textual sophistry to entangle it! . . . . Thus pondering I opened the *Review of Missions* and turned over its pages in ironic expectation of a record of ubiquitous futility. What was my pleasant disappointment to find that it was as much concerned with the League of Nations as the magazine which it mistakenly replaced!" Mr. Zangwill then quotes from five articles in a single issue, all of which in one way or another discuss the new international order that is demanded, and decides that "the missionaries have been converted to Christianity"! Mr. Zangwill does not, however, realize that this work on the part of the missionaries is no new thing, but has been going on for over a century. No doubt the international significance of their efforts has now come to consciousness in a new way, but their work has always rested on the assumption of the unity of the race and has always been in the direction of cooperative and friendly interracial relations. Most striking of all is Mr. Zangwill's own conclusion, "For a new world order there must be a burning missionary faith, an apostleship ready for all sacrifice."

Let us consider in more detail some of the significant contributions that foreign missions has been making to the new internationalism:

1. *The Christian missionary movement has been the basis for the best there is in the confidence which the nations of the East and the West have in each other as moral, righteous, and dependable institutions.*

There is much, both in trade relations and in diplomatic polity, that savors of self-interest and of disposition to push advantage without restraint of principle, or honesty, or regard for others. We do not need to recount the more shameful aspects of international trade or diplomacy. The slave traffic and the forcing of trade in opium upon an unwilling government, the trade in liquors

and drugs, the exploiting of the resources of tropical countries by servile forms of labor, the creation of spheres of influence, the building up of portentous armaments and programs of imperial expansion—the record is so humiliating that we need not be surprised if the nations of the East inferred that there was precious little passion for righteousness, or justice, or honor in the West.

Against all this the missionary movement has been the one clear protest from the Western world. It has been a living assertion that there is idealism and altruism in what might otherwise be known as a materialistic world. It has revealed by flesh and blood that there is a spirit in the world that cares for men and women in even remote parts of the earth for their own human sake. It has been the one great corrective for the influence of the trader who has thought of other lands only in terms of raw materials or labor markets, and for the diplomat who has been concerned with them only for the sake of spheres of economic or political influence. The impact of the Christian representatives of the Western nations on the Eastern peoples has been absolutely essential to convincing them that a real spirit of fair play, justice, and good will is vitally at work in Western civilization.

2. *Foreign missions has been the greatest agency in the past century in breaking down racial barriers and interpreting the East and the West to each other.*

The missionary movement has actually created a nucleus of world brotherhood and international good will. The missionary himself has been a mediating personality. Coming from a Western nation, he has identified himself with the life of the people to whom he has gone. He has not simply helped the national life—all his work has been in the direction of cementing friendly ties between his native land and the land of his adoption. So many illustrations of remarkable missionaries who have been such

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mediating personalities leap to mind that one forbears to mention names. It may be boldly stated without fear of its being gainsaid that no other agency has done so much to build up ordinary human friendships across racial lines as the Christian missionary movement. Men of other skins were to the missionary not strange and suspicious folks, but comrades and brothers. Viscount Chinda, the former Japanese ambassador to the United States, summed it up when he said, "The Christian missionaries to Japan contributed to the building of an unseen bridge between East and West." Wellington Koo, Minister of the Chinese Republic to the United States, not long ago bore similar testimony in an address at the University of Chicago: "Nothing which individual Americans have done in China has more strongly impressed Chinese minds with the sincerity, the genuineness, the altruism of American friendship for China than this spirit of service and sacrifice . . . . demonstrated by American missionaries."

One of the great factors in missionary work leading to mutual understanding has been the mission schools and colleges which have been scattered all over the world. They have served as centers of individual contacts that have gone far toward clearing away the barriers of misunderstanding and lack of appreciation which separated alien peoples. The educational work which the missionary has carried on has led also to the coming of thousands of students from the Orient and Latin America to the United States, with the result that men who were to become leaders in their own lands have learned to know us at first hand.

In addition to the work which the missionary himself has done, he has prepared the way for the exchange of Christian visitors and lecturers between the East and West, who have been no small factor in the development of mutual understanding of each other's spirit and problems. Charles Cuthbert Hall, Dr. Fairbairn, and Dr.

Moulton in India, Hamilton Wright Mabie and George W. Knox in Japan—these are typical of Western thinkers who have reached great audiences in the East and revealed to them something of the higher side of Western life. Eminent Christian leaders produced by the Christian mission Churches have in turn come to the West. President Harada of Doshisha University, at Kyoto, Professor Inazo Nitobe of the Tokyo Imperial University, Dr. Chang Poling of Tientsin, Dr. K. C. Chatterjee of the Punjab, Bishop V. S. Azariah of South India—these and others have helped us to understand and appreciate the genius and the potentialities of the lands they represented.

Foreign missions has also been far-reaching in the direction of interracial understanding and good will through the agency of international organizations which it has directly or indirectly brought about and which have implanted the idea of international fellowship and cooperation in many minds. The World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh and the movements continuing its work have had an incalculable influence in unifying the forces of international life. The World's Student Christian Federation has united sympathetically thousands of young men destined to become largely influential in determining the attitudes of their peoples. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. are found in most of the large cities all over the world. In the United States alone there are as many as 167 boards or societies whose objective is the leavening of foreign lands with the Gospel that is the source of whatever is best in our own life. The North American boards invest more than $22,000,000 annually in Christianization and international good will. They make it possible for some 11,000 persons to spend themselves in other lands than their own, carrying the message of new life for the individual, the nation, and the world, and tending to unite all lands in one loyal family of one Father God.

3. *Foreign missions is the one agency that has not only proclaimed but incarnated the spirit of human brotherhood and service.*

The missionary has been a living witness to the faith in brotherhood and the life of self-giving service that he has preached. Around him have grown up all the great helpful philanthropic and friendly endeavors that have been made in the interest of the peoples of the Orient. Hospitals have sprung up wherever he has gone, in most cases the first hospitals that have ever been known in these lands. Orphanages and leper asylums have been established. When famine and flood and pestilence have wrought havoc unspeakable, it is through the missionary that Christian philanthropy has been able to function effectively. Suffering humanity in the East has found in him its friend. And in far wider ways has foreign missions ministered to bettering conditions of life. Womanhood has been uplifted, outcastes have been raised, savages have become industrious citizens, child marriage has been broken down, slave trade has been abolished. No one can read Dr. Dennis's monumental record of "Christian Missions and Social Progress" without realizing that the missionary enterprise has been the one great charitable and philanthropic agency in the Eastern world.

The World War and the demands that it brought for international relief on a larger scale than ever before have afforded a most striking example of the missionaries' service to humanity in the actual relief of suffering. Throughout the whole Near East international relief has been carried on by the missionaries. Why? Because there was not a single other agency upon the field organized for the purpose of ministering to human life in a spirit of disinterested service. The Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief reports that it operated exclusively through missionaries during the whole period of the war. Even when it was possible to send workers

from America, no unit was sent without a missionary at its head. The missionary was the one person who could be counted on really to know the needs of the people and the ways in which help could be effectively administered. In most of the areas the missionaries had been advised by governmental authorities to leave because of the dangers of the situation, but almost without exception they cast in their fortunes with the war-sufferers. The immediate necessity for undertaking the huge program of international relief brought the missionary into a new prominence. As a matter of fact, however, the crisis simply exhibited in a more striking way the service he had been rendering, year in and year out, as the great exponent of that service and brotherhood which must become the keynote of our new international life.

4. *Foreign missions has for more than a hundred years been developing in non-Christian lands a high class of native leadership sympathetic to democracy and internationalism.*

As a result of missionary endeavor outstanding characters have been trained who have both shown the high resources of the race and been potent factors in leading backward peoples to a new national development. And the nationalism which leaders trained in a Christian atmosphere have sought is one which finds its true place only in a brotherly society of free peoples. It is more significant than has generally been realized that at the Peace Conference at Versailles two of the three representatives of the Chinese Republic were Christians. One of them, C. T. Wang, formerly vice-president of the Chinese Senate, was for many years secretary of the Chinese Y. M. C. A. Nor is it an accident that in Japan today Christians are among the greatest influences working in the direction of a more democratic national life. In both cases the present situation is but the harvest of seed sown during the century by the missionary.

Surely enough has been said to show that Christian missions has been a powerful agency for peace and international good will. It is the one agency that has actually proceeded in the faith that all men belong to one great family. In a word, it may be said that all the ideal values that we were seeking to establish during the war—human brotherhood, democracy, righteousness, permanent peace, good will, and cooperation among the nations—have been for a century at the heart of the missionary enterprise.

And what is the underlying reason why foreign missions has thus been a great preparation for the new internationalism? The ultimate explanation lies not in the missionary himself nor even in his work, but in the message that he has everywhere proclaimed. When all is said and done, the only adequate basis for an internationalism resting upon cooperation and good will is in the Christian conception of God. It demands for its full realization the conviction that there is unity in the structure of the universe itself, that the final reality is moral, righteous, Christlike, that there is an eternal purpose of good embracing all the nations of the earth. If the ultimate reality is impersonal matter, unmoral force, or a limited, imperfect spirit, we have no sure hope that the way of love is practicable or consistent with the matter-of-fact world in which we live. The faith that Sovereign Love is at the heart of things and that it is a universal Love is the one sufficient foundation for a world order that is to be built upon the principle of love.

A word from an ancient, unknown Christian writer may therefore well summarize this chapter: "What the soul is in the body, that are Christians in the world. For the soul holds the body together and Christians hold the world together. This illustrious position has been assigned them of God, which it were unlawful for them ever to forsake."

CHAPTER II

WHAT FOREIGN MISSIONS CAN CONTRIBUTE TO AN EFFECTIVE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Even among those who hold the war in awed remembrance and seek to conserve all the ideal values for which the mighty sacrifice was made, there are great fears whether there are agencies at work that can make a league of nations really effective. They see unblasted rocks on which it may split—suspicion, animosity, selfishness, indifference. There are many and long chapters in the history of international relations in the past that will have to be forgotten or overlooked. Any effective league of nations must be underwritten with a spirit which, in spite of the spread of democracy, is by no means dominant in our modern life. Yet that safeguarding spirit is actually present in the world and is more widely diffused than is sometimes supposed. It is the very moving spring of the foreign missionary enterprise.

The service of foreign missions to an effective league of nations is not connected with any particular form of such a league. Details of international covenants are open to thoughtful discussion and it is wholly possible that men with equal passion for the outcome may differ about the practical wisdom of a given proposal. There is no peril in that. The peril is in men who do not want international friendship, or who want it in only a half-hearted fashion, or who are cynical as to its possibility and who therefore sow seeds of international suspicion and ill will. It is a peril of the spirit, not of method. The education of the judgment may be carried on by many agencies; the change of spirit on which the final success

of any league of nations waits must be committed to spiritual agencies.

Nor is the service of foreign missions to a league of nations to be found in the direct work of its representatives in various parts of the world. It has been well said that "the American missionary fairly exudes democracy wherever he goes." His method and his message, the Book he presents and the Gospel he preaches, are all faced toward fundamentally democratic ends. Yet it is no part of his conscious business to change modes of government or to effect political organization. Careless people will not distinguish between the ideas he represents and their outworking in particular events. This is the fault in an explanation given by a Japanese paper in Chosen, quoted in a document issued by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America: "The stirring up of the minds of the Koreans is the sin of the American missionaries. This uprising is their work. . . . . There are a good many shallow-minded people among the missionaries and they make the minds of the Koreans bad and they plant the seeds of democracy. So the greater part of the 300,000 Korean Christians do not like the union of Japan and Korea, but they are waiting for the opportunity for freedom." Of course that is both true and false. Christian ideas inevitably work themselves out into the desire for freedom, but those who teach them may differ sharply from those who learn them as to the way in which they should be given practical effectiveness. No teacher can be held responsible for mistaken methods of putting his own teaching into practice. Missions face toward freedom and in so far oppose injustice and oppression, but missionaries may not on that account commit themselves to revolutions or plan new forms of government. The service of foreign missions to an effective league of nations is not to be found in the direct work which its personnel may render in that special cause. Its contribution is far deeper and

more fundamental, even though made in less conspicuous ways.

1. The first service which foreign missions renders to an effective league of nations is *in the developing of a body of people committed to the idea of brotherhood in all nations.*

It is no more important to have such a body of people in the receiving than in the sending nations. The whole missionary enterprise depends on the existence in Christian lands of men who carry on their hearts the needs of other men and who feel responsibility for the meeting of those needs. The radius of their brotherhood must be that of the human race. It is a brotherhood which looks outward for its expression but upward for its warrant—a brotherhood born of the Christian religion, resting on the common Fatherhood of God and the universality of Jesus Christ, and proceeding upon the assumption that the unit for our social thinking must be humanity.

It is an immeasurable asset for any international organization that in every land of the earth today there exists a body of men, larger or smaller, to whom it is natural to think of others in terms of brotherhood and friendship, whose habit of mind is to think of the merits instead of the demerits of men of other nations, who would rather believe well than ill of men around the globe, who understand the spiritual language spoken by men of other tongues. Such groups have actually been built up by foreign missions all over the world. They put any great movement for the good of humanity in the position in which nascent Christianity found itself in the spread over the whole earth of the Jewish race, as a result of which there was everywhere a small or large group to whom the new doctrine could be presented intelligibly, among whom actually it did ordinarily take its first root. As a result of foreign missions thousands of men in all lands are already in league with one another at the deeper levels of life.

2. Foreign missions serves the prospects of a league of nations also *in developing the spiritual force of service and sacrifice on which the effectiveness of such a league fundamentally depends.*

The danger to an effective league is not primarily governmental or political. It is spiritual. It is the hearts of men that are in the way of it. The war has furnished a new motive for proclaiming the gospel of regeneration. A league of nations must be underwritten for safety by a league of unselfish hearts. It is no new thing to have nations concerned for each other. Strong nations have been looking out for weaker ones since the beginning of record, but it is a comparatively new thing for strong nations to look out for the weaker primarily for the good of the weaker. The very possibility of it is scouted by many people. Living by the brazen rule of selfishness they forget the Golden Rule of fellowship, which measures what we do for others by what we would have others do for us; and that finer diamond rule of sacrifice, the rule of Christ's own life, "not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life." If an ideal and perfect league of nations were to be directed by selfish men, it would presently become only a more efficient way of exploiting weak nations in the interest of the strong.

Over against this spirit of self-seeking the Christian Gospel sets the spirit of service and sacrifice. Any league that is consonant with its spirit will not be an agency for wielding the strong arm over the weak, but for placing the strong arm under the weak until they gain strength within themselves. No effective international relations can be established without risks and possible cost. The abiding complaint of John Hay was that he could not get treaties ratified unless he could prove to the satisfaction of a certain group of senators that the United States would gain more than the other nation. Unless their own country had some larger profit than other nations, they counted it unpatriotic to enter into

the treaty. That attitude is not confined to senatorial thinking nor to America. In the past we have had nationalism for aggression, as in the case of Germany; for distinction, as in Tagore's plea for India and Japan; and for defense, as in early American history. The need now is for a nationalism that shall be for service. It is the one type of nationalism that will make the full success of a league of nations possible.

The spirit of sacrifice must be formed in all nations. Everywhere, quietly, insistently, forcefully, men who believe in the spirit of service and sacrifice as over against the spirit of selfishness and distrust of others must propagate their faith. But where is there any adequate basis for such a spirit except in the Gospel of Christ? And where is such a spirit so marked as in foreign missions? Foreign missions is the test of it and the greatest single manifestation of it anywhere. The missionaries themselves are exemplifying it—they are on foreign fields for other men's sakes. The Gaekwar of Baroda told a visitor that he was thinking of calling together the Christian missionaries and asking them how to improve the quality of the native Hindu priesthood and added, "Then I want to call the priests together and say to them, 'Look at the missionaries. See the sacrifices they are making to help our people. You ought to go out and do the same kind of work.'" In every non-Christian land the Christians constitute the one group whose faith carries this spirit as part of its inescapable logic. It is the religion of sacrifice, it centers in the Cross and issues in a cross. It demands that we bear one another's burdens if we are to fulfil the law of Christ.

And a league of nations that is really to bind together the nations of the world must have exactly that spirit. For the league is in itself only a piece of lifeless machinery. All its value will depend on the extent to which the spirit of the nations that enter it is truly Christian. Lord Robert Cecil went to the heart of the matter when

he said in a recent address that if we depend for peace on the League of Nations alone we are living in a fools' paradise, since the only final solution is in the principles of Christ.

3. Foreign missions contributes to a league of nations *the attitude of faith that is absolutely essential to its success.*

One of the serious obstacles to the realization of a new world order is that there are so many who believe it to be impossible. Human nature, they say, does not change. The beginning of a new order of life, therefore, depends on the generation of sufficient faith to make it possible to proceed. But this is one of the points where the Christian Gospel has its most significant contribution to make. It sounds a great note of faith both in God and in the unrealized possibilities of human nature.

And foreign missions is itself the most striking example that the Church has seen of the validity of this method of approach. The whole history of missions is but the application of the principle of faith to situations that, humanly speaking, seemed impossible. Its triumphs are the world's greatest evidence that racial differences are not necessarily a barrier to brotherhood, that international friendship is actually possible, that men of diverse races will respond to motives of trust and good will. The history of foreign missions is also a great refutation of the lack of faith implied in the saying that human nature cannot be changed. The spirit of Christ, carried by foreign missions to many lands, has already gone far in really changing human nature. It has certainly released mighty recreative influences in what was formerly called the unchanging East. It has given us new assurance that it is just for the sake of changing nature—leading it out of selfishness and sin into service and love—that Christianity exists.

4. Foreign missions contributes to the effectiveness of a league of nations *by developing a spirit of mutual un-*

derstanding that encourages rational methods of dealing with differences in human relations.

It is idle to expect that the hardships, and difficulties, and horrors of war will prevent its recurrence when the occasion arises again, if no other and more effective way of gaining the result has been found. And no proposed league of nations has ever pretended to make war entirely impossible. No intelligent man can offer such hostages to the future as that. All that can be put into any covenant is such machinery as will delay hasty decision until the slow processes of mutual understanding and adjustment can have their chance.

But both the accomplishing of this delay and the working of those forces are operations in the field of the spirit. Nations must want to avoid war, must believe in other ways of adjusting differences, must prefer those ways. And here also Christianity has a contribution to make, especially so in the international phase of it that we call foreign missions. For, in the first place, Christianity deepens men's sense of horror for war, since in the light of the Christian conception of the brotherhood of men within one Kingdom of God all war becomes a family strife, with all the shame that that involves. Christianity, therefore, challenges the causes that are ordinarily pleaded as necessitating war and tends to diminish the occasions that can be regarded as justifying it. In the second place, the work that Christianity has done through foreign missions emphasizes the possibility of securing mutual understanding and adjustment among those who seriously differ on many important points. It has shown that Christian brotherhood is possible, even though there are so many diversities among Christians that they do not think alike. It is of course true that the exponents of Christianity have violated this spirit many times, both in Western nations and on the mission field, and have tried to settle differences by force, or by ostracism, or by refusal of fellowship. But its genius is against them.

Something fine in any Christian heart is outraged when one man cannot differ from another without coming to blows or forfeiting the spirit of love. And foreign missions is spreading that spirit throughout the world, forming in all nations bodies of men who are ready to recognize differences and to deal with them in openness and sincerity until ways can be found of mutual service. It tells the world of a God whose love for it is not based on its goodness but flows out to it in its badness, of a Christ who died for men while they were yet sinners, of a brotherhood called to a world-wide mission because other men need it. In the presence of such a faith only patience and forbearance with men whom we count wrong are logical. If a league of nations is to be most effective, it must be maintained by nations with just such a faith.

5. Foreign missions contributes to a league of nations a *common interest and the bond of a common religious faith, without which a full and permanent brotherhood is impossible.*

Men and nations come together only because they have things in common. The extent of their unity depends on the importance of the things that thus bind them together. So a league of nations depends on the existence of a sufficiently strong common bond—something that will transcend geographical lines and give men otherwise separated a common interest, which will seem too great to be broken by collisions of a minor sort. What is this unifying principle to be? For many years it was supposed that the commercial and financial intertwining among nations would prevent war. Some people think it will do so in the future. But financial and commercial interests have a hard struggle to keep from being merely selfish. They are not generally born of good will and the spirit of service, so they are quite as likely to lead to war as to prevent it. What is needed is a tie which reaches the deepest levels of life. The Edinburgh Conference was

solemnizing in its significance at just this point. There gathered men of many minds and from all nations, as diverse as men could well be, speaking all the tongues of the world or representing others who did so. Yet a supreme interest had been found which was common to them all. They were all concerned to get the same great end accomplished. It was not an end that obliterated distinctions or reduced all nations to a common level, but it rose above distinctions and gave a unity that ran deeper than a common level.

The fundamental human interests are religious interests. It is a common faith that is the largest common concern. There is nothing else compelling and dynamic enough to bind the world together. It is indeed doubtful whether there can ever be the fullest and most permanent brotherhood without a common religion.

And it is foreign missions that gives the common faith on which a genuine family of nations can be built. Universal Christianity is the only sufficient basis for world democracy. It sets before the world the ideal of the Kingdom of God, embracing all nations upon the earth in the sway of the spirit of Christ and calling all nations to a great program of mutual service as the will of God. Men who have caught the zest of that program will be ready for the very relation among countries that a league of nations must have. They do not carry out their program for the sake of a league of nations, but find in a league the political counterpart of their religious faith.

In this discussion of the contribution that Christian missions have made and must make to a league of nations, it has been assumed that some such international organization commands the support of all men who are committed to the Christian way of life and have caught the vision of the coming of the world-wide Kingdom of God upon the earth. It has not been assumed, however,

that we yet have in any covenant for a league that has been proposed all the elements which the full expression of Christian faith would demand. Many hold that the League in its present form affords no adequate assurance either of religious liberty or of liberty to carry on missionary work. It may not guarantee that equality of treatment of all races which is called for by the spirit of Christian brotherhood. The scheme of mandatories may become only a means for the exploitation of weak peoples, unless it is safeguarded by motives of service and good will. In these and other points the Christians of the world will still have occasion, after a beginning of the League has actually been secured, to give their best effort to making the external organization conform increasingly to the mind and spirit of Jesus Christ.

The most direct service, however, that the average Christian can render to a league of nations is in the strengthening and extension of the foreign mission program. The spirit in which the missionary enterprise is born, the spirit which it brings to birth, the spirit in which it lives, is the spirit on which an effective league of nations must depend. The groups that support it, the groups that it develops in the nations, the groups that it binds together, are the groups to which an effective league must look for its fullest support. The Gospel which foreign missions proclaims assumes the essential oneness of the human race, holds that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," and sets before the world the ideal of one family of nations constituting His Kingdom. And at the center of that Gospel stands a figure who embodies in Himself the principle of sacrifice and service which is the only principle on which an effective league of nations can proceed.

CHAPTER III

FOREIGN MISSIONS AND DEMOCRACY IN NON-CHRISTIAN LANDS

There is no word which has been so much a watchword of the World War as democracy. It has been on everybody's lips. However the war began, we came to think of it as a great movement for human freedom and democratic principles. Nor was this new interest in democracy confined to the Western world. In the remotest corners to which rumors of the war penetrated there were heard also the terms, "democracy," "freedom," "self-determination." It is not surprising, then, that in widely separated parts of the world new tendencies to democracy have arisen or former movements in that direction have been accelerated. Most striking of all, perhaps, is the situation that now exists in the so-called non-Christian world.

The rising democratic movement and foreign missions cannot be without significance for each other. On the one hand, foreign missions is concerned with these democratic movements that are taking place on the mission fields because democracy itself has foundations that are essentially religious. It is more than a political and economic thing. It rests fundamentally upon the conviction of the intrinsic worth of every human personality and aims at a recognition of this principle in all forms of social organization. Democracy is woven into the very warp and woof of the teaching of Jesus. On the other hand, democracy in the non-Christian lands cannot be adequately considered apart from foreign missions, both

because the missionary enterprise has been one of the great factors unconsciously working in that direction and also because the democratic movements now need the guidance of the Christian principles that lie at the heart of the missionary message. It is important, therefore, to consider the relation of foreign missions and the democratic movement to each other. Before we can do so intelligently, however, we need to set before us certain of the basic facts in the present situation.

Great nations and races, hitherto not fully awakened to a sense of their power or their possibilities, are becoming self-conscious and are in a spirit of unrest. We may observe this situation throughout the world. In South Africa the blacks are now very restless over efforts to discriminate against them, and the immigrant Indians in their turn are unhappy over similar discriminations. In North Africa, particularly in Egypt, national aspirations and racial unrest are strongly felt. Almost everywhere in Latin America nationals fear that Anglo-Saxon influences are seeking to restrict and defeat the efforts of the Latin American world to express itself according to its own genius, and a new attitude of self-reliance is coming to birth. The more marked and extended manifestations of racial self-consciousness, however, are to be seen in the various parts of Asia. In India, Java, the Philippines, China, Korea, and Japan there are strong movements that have the common characteristics of increasing national and racial self-consciousness.

This rising sense of power has two differing thrusts, varying according to the degree of opposition which thwarts the desire for self-expression. On the one hand, we see a growing indignation against the efforts of the white race—or, in the case of Latin America, against some of the northern nations—to impose their will, politically, industrially, commercially, upon weaker nations and races and to mobilize military force for the maintenance of control. On the other hand, we find the

"tinted races,"[1] particularly in Asia, attempting to become articulate on national or racial lines by organizing themselves after republican models, for the purpose of withstanding the pressure from the white race and securing immunity from foreign interference in the management of internal affairs.

There is, in addition to this increased sense of self-consciousness and power, a growing desire for actual democratic institutions. This desire is most definitely manifest in China and in the Philippines, where there has been a long preparation for it, but is also very noticeable in India, Korea, and Japan, where the movement has to overcome the traditions and habits of peoples who have been accustomed to autocracy, even to tyranny, for centuries. It is especially notable that this democratic movement is beginning to express itself industrially as well as politically, as the tinted races adopt more and more of the features of modern industry. The growing frequency with which the strike and the boycott are being used in China, Japan, and India as a means of self-defense against oppression of any sort marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of the Asiatic peoples.

The causes contributing to this rising self-consciousness, this desire for self-expression, and the present democratic drift in Asia are too complex and intermingled to admit of precise analysis. We have to recognize at the outset that there are certain democratic tendencies inherent in the social life of Asia itself. While the patriarchal form of social organization, which still lingers in the greater part of the non-Christian world, is certainly autocratic, and often cruelly so in its operation, one must not forget or underestimate the democratic aspects of the social structure. Mohammedanism has a thoroughly democratic spirit among its followers, so far as the male population is concerned. Hindu village life

[1]One may dislike the term "tinted races," but it is difficult to find one less open to criticism.

contains broadly democratic features within the caste, which often mitigate the fundamentally undemocratic features of the caste system as a whole. The local government and community life of China exhibit a large measure of democracy and have been a great foundation stone for the Chinese Republic. What has been chiefly needed, therefore, in many non-Christian lands was simply that autocratic restraints should be removed and an inherently democratic spirit be given opportunity to come to self-expression.

But there are important outside influences that have come to bear upon the life of Asia and Africa during the last century, influences whose force has been particularly felt during the last few years. It is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to assign to the various causes even relative values or priority in chronological operation, or to indicate the varying extent to which they have been severally effective in different lands. The general influences that have been at work may, however, be roughly summarized as follows:

1. The expansion of European colonial empires by military force among the tinted races. This has sharply challenged the sense of justice which dwells in every self-respecting human heart. Furthermore, the white race, by introducing a notion of color-consciousness wherever it has gone, has stimulated and accentuated a similar color-consciousness among the tinted races. The present color-consciousness in Japan and in India has been largely forced into coherence and shape by the color-line which has been established by the white race. Similar lines are being rapidly formed on a nation-wide scale in China.

2. International commerce. This has had the effect of giving to the tinted races a new sense of their economic value in the markets of the world, and, notwithstanding the varying degrees of exploitation to which these races have been subjected, has left a considerable increment of wealth among every race. There has thus resulted a

clash of commercial interests in which the capitalistic forces of the Western world are now pitted against the smaller, yet growing, capitalistic forces of Asia.

The multiplication of the means of communication which has attended the growth of commerce, has, on the one hand, multiplied the cultural contacts between the East and the West, and, on the other, greatly promoted the development of racial unity within nations and also the consciousness of a wider unity throughout the Orient. The popular unrest which has been characteristic of the Western world for a generation has been directly communicated to Asia by students and through literature.

3. Certain political events of world-wide significance have had effects almost revolutionary upon the mental and spiritual outlook of Asia. First of these has been the American occupation of the Philippines and the historic American diplomatic policy in China, as illustrated by the open-door policy and the return of the Boxer indemnity. This has given to the Oriental an actual demonstration of a relationship between strong and weak nations hitherto unknown among them, and has greatly increased the resentment at prevailing practices in international policies that are contrary to the spirit of that finer policy. The second important event was the defeat of Russia by Japan and the rapid elevation of Japan to a position among the powers. To the Oriental races generally this brilliant record of Japan has been a great encouragement, for it has demonstrated the inherent power of the Oriental not only to meet the Occidental on his own ground, but to meet him successfully.

The third great political event that has profoundly affected the thought of Asia is the European war, into which the Oriental was led by the European powers. Through it the Asiatic races learned that they were desirable parties in international affairs, since their will for good or ill was a matter to be reckoned with by the powers. The transportation of so many soldiers and

laborers to far-off battle-fields has given new horizons to millions of people and has loosened the power of ancient traditions and habits. The slogans of democracy, self-determination, and the defense of weak nations, under which the Allied nations appealed for the moral support of mankind, have created new desires among the Asiatics and have aroused hopes which the master nations are now reluctant to satisfy.

4. The introduction of evangelical Christianity into Asia through the channels of foreign missions has been the fourth great contributing cause to the growing demands of the Asiatic races for rights of self-determination.[2] Wherever the full Gospel of Christ has gone it has unconsciously stimulated movements for liberty and life; it has made for freedom and human rights. The contributions of Christianity, which have been many, both direct and indirect, do not need to be discussed here in detail, as they appear in other parts of this volume. It cannot be too much emphasized, however, that all its contributions to democracy rest on its fundamental conceptions of the worth of every human soul, the divine possibilities of every person as revealed in Jesus Christ, and the purpose of God for the world.

It appears fairly obvious that the world may yet suffer more bitterly than ever before if the causes of the present Oriental unrest are not met by stronger corrective and constructive influences than are at present being employed. The desires of the Asiatic races for independence cannot forever be suppressed by military force. It is equally certain that the eventual removal of European influence from Asia will not be sufficient to assure the peace of the Orient. Asia is now entering upon an industrial and commercial age in which the exploitation of underpaid workers within the nations and the sting of poverty will in the future probably create quite as

[2] *Cf.* Chapter III, p. 18.

much irritation and disturbance as is now created by outside interference. Great, positive, inspiring, and upbuilding influences are the one demand.

It will be accepted without challenge that Christianity, through the Christian Church and its foreign missionary work, ought to be able to make a great contribution toward saving the world from this threatening disaster. But the problem is by no means a simple one. We know all too well how far short we fall in our own land of measuring up to any adequate ideal of a Christian democracy. Great unchristian aspects of our industrial and social order still stare us in the face. Yet at least we are conscious of a Christian goal. We have caught a vision of what a Christian democracy would be and as Christians we are striving for it. What we want to do in the non-Christian world is not to set forth our actual Western democracy as anything with which we are yet satisfied, but to bring to full consciousness among Eastern peoples our conception of the social goal, in order that they and we may unite in working for the establishing of the world-wide Kingdom of God and the sway of the spirit of Christ. As Christian missions has in the past made such an important contribution among the Eastern races in stimulating those very aspirations which, while unsatisfied, are so full of peril for the peace of the world, so now must missions guide those aspirations into the only path that will ever lead to an adequate solution.

What, then, are the contributions that foreign missions has to make to the rising social unrest and how are they to be made?

1. *Christian missions must emphasize the ideal of a truly democratic fellowship.* But if this is to be done it is of primary importance that the missionary himself understand the full import of his gospel. He must come to regard it as part of his task, in a larger degree than many do at present, to furnish the definite ideals and demonstrations out of which may be developed demo-

cratic fellowship in local communities, in states, and in international relations. The Gospel must be expounded as a message applicable to all social, as well as to individual, affairs. We must show that the spiritual values of the Gospel have definite implications for political, commercial, and industrial life. The non-Christian world is now in a state to be peculiarly receptive to sincere proclamation of the social significance of the Gospel.

But the prevailing hazy and timid thinking of vast sections of American churches with reference to such fundamental questions as the relations of men of different color to each other, and the relation of human values to property values, at present constitutes an almost insuperable handicap to the preaching of the full Gospel in Asia. The intelligent sections of the non-Christian races have recently been made terribly aware that in the applications of the doctrine of the infinite value of every human soul the prevailing opinion among Christian peoples is an uncertain staff upon which to lean. The gospel message must be stated with great clearness, not merely by the missionary for his prospective converts, but also for himself and the Church at home.

2. *Foreign missions must hold up the ideal of the inherent worth of all human life—of even the weak and the unfit.* There is great danger as Asia moves on into the new era, acquiring, as she undoubtedly will either peacefully or by force, greater degrees of self-expression, both politically and economically, that the ideal of the supreme value of human personality will be more and more sacrificed through militarism, modern industry, and bad social adjustments. At this point foreign missions is already making a very important contribution, which, however, must be greatly increased in view of the accelerated speed of the democratic movement in Asia. The Gospel stands not merely for justice and equality, but also for mercy, for the development of the unfit, and for the preparation of the weak for the battle of life. The

missionary school and the missionary hospital come, therefore, to assume an importance far beyond the statistics of attendance and patronage. They are demonstrations of the fundamental Christian ideals of the incalculable worth of human life and of the responsibility of the strong for the weak. The school and the hospital are thus great illustrations of the saving salt of modern civilization and are as truly evangelistic in their message as the church or chapel.

3. *Foreign missions has also a contribution to make to the development of a Christian industrial order in non-Christian lands.* All democratic aspirations in Asia will prove abortive, except as the various peoples learn how to increase production to provide a sufficient margin of wealth on which to sustain effective popular education, sanitation, modern industry, efficient government, and well-supported religious programs. The missionary movement has already done something in the line of industrial and agricultural education, but more than training in improved method is demanded. In this day, when modern industrial development is still formative in much of Asia, we need to give our best effort to the organization of industry in such a way as will most fully minister to the common good and conserve human life instead of wasting it. To leave the stimulation of production to the ordinary processes of industrial and commercial competition is to open the doors of Asia to the evils of political and industrial maladjustment as they have developed in the Western world. Why should we not be able to help the East in the light of our own mistakes?

If we are ever to have Christian democracy in Asia, attention must be earnestly directed not only to the problem of production of goods but also to the problem of distribution in a way that the Christian conscience can approve. It would be hardly creditable to the Christian Church in her efforts to Christianize the non-Christian races, if she were to endorse and propa-

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gate among these peoples the defects of our Western economic system, which has come so short of ministering justly to human needs.

4. *Foreign missions must proclaim in the non-Christian world the ideal of social responsibility.* Of the twin Christian doctrines of individual liberty and social responsibility, the former has often received such a disproportionate emphasis as to exclude the application of the latter in a comprehensive way. This disproportionate emphasis on individual liberty is especially characteristic of a revolutionary period and may constitute a grave danger in the way of orderly changes, both political and economic, in Asia. The emphasis which Christianity places upon the ideal of social responsibility gives to the work of Christian missions in Asia a transcending importance in the age which is just before us. In the light, therefore, of the democratic movements in the non-Christian world it is clear that the work of foreign missions is many times more urgent than it ever was before. Now, as always, the message of new life for the individual is the essential foundation, but it must in hosts of ways be so proclaimed that no aspect of social relationships shall lie outside its sphere. Having done so much to stimulate the democratic desires of the Asiatic races, we should break faith indeed if we should fail to meet the increasing need for wise leadership and conserving influences with increasing vigor and with large extension of Christian work. In planning for the future we must bear in mind that the Orient needs the impact of a full-orbed Gospel. No phase of missionary work needs to be emphasized to the exclusion of another. Changes of policy or of proportion are of less importance than increase of power and efficiency in every line.

Perhaps more urgent than any other need is that of changing the prevailing attitude of the average church at home toward the entire question of the proper relations between the white and the tinted races. The tinted

races must be elevated in the estimation of Christian people to the dignity which is the rightful possession of all human life. Patronizing manners and the attitude of the superior to the inferior must give way to a spirit of unconstrained Christian brotherhood.

To accomplish this great purpose the existing missionary organizations at the home base offer highly efficient machinery which is being inadequately utilized as an instrument of Christian education. The local missionary society should take on a new dignity, as an organization specifically dedicated to the extension of justice to the tinted races. It ought never to be allowed to appear merely as an agency for the stimulation of financial contributions.

The greatest danger to which the League of Nations is liable is that it may become an instrument in the hands of master nations for the exploitation of the weaker races. This danger is great because there does not at present exist a sufficiently awakened conscience on the part of Christian people, nor a sufficiently organized Christian public sentiment to sustain a bulwark of defense against injustice to the tinted races. There are at present indications that efforts will be made to pay for further extensions of industrial democracy in England and America by additional exploitations of weaker peoples. The realization of such a policy would all but paralyze the work of evangelizing the world.

The rising tide of social unrest in non-Christian lands presents, therefore, to missionary organizations at the home base the double responsibility of greatly increasing the scope of Christian work on the foreign fields and of creating a more adequately Christian attitude on the part of their constituencies themselves toward the tinted races of the world.

CHAPTER IV

THE ENLARGED OUTLOOK OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

The foregoing chapters lead to the unmistakable conclusion that the new situation in which the world finds itself after the war results in a greatly enlarged outlook for the foreign missionary enterprise. Its social and international significance, never adequately appreciated nor understood, now stands forth in clearer light. Throughout the world there is a rising spirit of democracy and of social aspiration—and Christianity is the only adequate foundation for it. The future safety and welfare of the world are seen to depend upon the moving of the nations toward international brotherhood—and Christianity affords the only sufficient basis for such a program.

Foreign missions has always been presented as an urgent task, but a new urgency has now entered into it. There have been times when the insistency of its appeal was set forth in terms of the millions who were passing into eternity unsaved. Again its challenge has been brought to us in terms of individuals who need, here and now, a gospel of personal salvation. It is undoubtedly true that there has never been a time when the task was thought of simply in terms of the conversion of the individual. Wherever the missionary has gone he has discovered that he could not fully change the individual life till many evil phases of the social environment—such as slavery, polygamy, and caste—were broken down. As a matter of fact, wherever he has gone these have actually begun to give way. In the present day, however, we have come to a clear and vivid conception of the goal as nothing less than the creation of a Christian society

throughout the world. Now, therefore, especially in the light of the war, foreign missions may be presented as demanding even more urgent support on the additional ground of the salvation of society; for the very possibility of the new social order, the vision of which was our greatest inspiration in the war, rests upon the accepted sway of the Christian principles that foreign missions is seeking to establish throughout the world.

No better illustration of this could be desired than an address delivered by the Minister of Justice of Canton, in Shekki, a large city of southern China, reported by a traveler in the Orient a few weeks ago. The officials of the city, who were non-Christian, were seated behind the speaker on the platform and listened to his ringing message, the gist of which was summarized in these three points: (1) Jesus Christ is the only hope for a man; (2) Jesus Christ is the only hope for a nation; (3) Jesus Christ is the only hope for the world.

Some of the simple missionary programs which were adequate to an early stage now need, therefore, to be supplemented and enlarged by more comprehensive ones. As our task constantly enlarges and the movement reaches a maturer stage, coming face to face with the complex social problems of the present day, it is to be expected that it will express itself in larger ways. Even if its goal has sometimes been shortsighted and inadequate, we still need to realize that the missionary movement, as has been lately said, reveals its greatness even in its self-educating and self-reforming character. The center and core of all Christian work now as always is the bringing of new life to the individual, but in addition to this the new world situation brings more explicitly into consciousness certain other emphases of the missionary task.

I. Christianizing Nations

Certainly the time has come to lay fresh hold on the thought of Christianizing the corporate life of nations.

Now when we realize more keenly that before we can ever have a Christian family of nations there must be Christian national units, we should be led out into a resurvey of all the zones and strata of the life of each nation—whether Christian or non-Christian, so-called—that are unchristianized or inadequately occupied by Christian agencies or even unreached by Christian influences. In each country the missionary movement must now press with fresh vision and increasing vigor, by every means within its power, the applicability of Christian principles and obligations to all phases of social life.

This ideal of Christianizing the nations assumes, of course, the legitimacy of national development. Foreign missions has no thought of foreignizing, or denationalizing, or cosmopolitanizing any people. In the midst of our present emphasis on internationalism we should bear in mind not simply the right but the duty of each nation to develop according to its own genius and native spirit. The Gospel, then, needs to be so presented as to reveal its power to guide, supplement, and bring to the highest fruition those elements in each civilization or country which promote the welfare of its own people and the richness of the world. The missionary, therefore, while continuing to avoid political entanglements and factional alliances, is called upon to acquaint himself with the trend of national aspiration and to cultivate toward it a wise and generous sympathy, using every opportunity to commend Christianity as the only power by which the highest nationhood can ever be attained.

To this end we need an enlarged campaign of social service as a ministry to the nation and as an incarnation of the Christian spirit. The present moment is particularly opportune for such an emphasis, since in so many lands it is a plastic, formative period when old social arrangements are giving way and when we have, therefore, such an opportunity as may not come again for generations to fashion the life of the nation in Chris-

tian moulds. With almost entire unanimity the correspondents with whom the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook has been in touch have agreed that missionary work must now be enlarged so as to aim directly at changing not only the individual life, but also the character of society itself. More and more Christianity must be manifested as a practical force working constructively on conditions that depress, destroy, or degrade. Social amelioration and uplift through schools, hospitals, clubs, refuges, farm colonies, orphanages, industrial centers, and other agencies need to be vastly extended in each land and intensively prosecuted as a national ministry. In addition to such practical endeavors, the Gospel must constantly be held forth as embodying those ideals and principles which alone can solve the complex questions of industrial and social relationships.

But when we conceive Christian missions in such far-reaching social and international terms as these, we can no longer think of it as being adequately carried on merely by the specialized work of missionaries. We see its inevitable relation to Western commerce, industry, international relations, and travel. The approach of all of these to the Orient must be Christianized, so that the trader, diplomat, and tourist will not daily deny the gospel of brotherhood proclaimed by the missionary. The "evangelization" of the world may be accomplished by increasing the number of missionaries. The Christianization of the world is a vastly greater task and cannot fully be achieved until the whole impact of the West upon the East has been permeated by the Christian spirit.

II. Nationalizing Christianity

The recognition of the legitimacy of proper nationalism and of the necessity of Christianizing it leads us to emphasize the importance of Christianity's developing in each land according to the native genius, for it is only

as Christianity actually takes such a form that it will ever be able to permeate and control the national life. Only a natural growth can become a great power among a people—an exotic thing never can. We do not want to produce a mere replica of any type of Western Christianity in the Orient. We want to sow the seed which will grow into an indigenous plant. We are not to aim, therefore, to impose a program or policy of our Western making upon the Churches which the missionaries bring into being overseas. Nor can we insist upon their accepting all our notions concerning Christianity. We carry the truth as we see it and pray that the Spirit may lead them into the Truth.

We candidly recognize that mistakes have often been made in this matter, or perhaps they were not so much mistakes as earlier stages in a process of development. Western ways that were foreign to the Eastern spirit and that were merely the accompaniments of Christianity, not a part of it, have often been adopted with Christianity itself. Western types of church architecture, music, worship, have often been slavishly copied, with the result that the Christian community sometimes seems alienated from the currents of national life. A serious article in a recent issue of the *International Review of Missions*, entitled "How Missions Denationalize Indians," written by a thoughtful leader in the Christian Church in India, concludes that "the Indian Christian community is certainly isolated from the rest of India." There is reason to believe, it may be remarked in passing, that the situation created in certain Eastern lands by the war has had the effect of bringing about a closer identification of the Christian community with national aspirations. From Korea and China at least strong tendencies in this direction are reported.

Not only from the standpoint of the expansion of Christianity, but also from a consideration of its enrichment, it is important that we afford to every people the

free opportunity to contribute out of its full experience to the interpretation of the ever expanding but yet unfathomed truths of the Christian religion. The East, by virtue of its different characteristics and temperament, may disclose elements in the Christian faith that never have been understood nor appreciated by the Western world. We need not fear if Christianity assume new forms. Indeed, we may well hope that it is so rich and dynamic that new forms will appear. Through all its history it has been by expansion that it has been enriched. Except for its missionary character it would have remained a Jewish cult. It was by becoming indigenous in Greek, Roman, and Teutonic cultures as well as Semitic that it was progressively enriched. One of the most marvelous things in its history and a great basis for belief in its universality and finality has been this very power to adapt itself to new environment. If the spirit of Christ can clothe itself in Jewish, Greek, Roman, and Teutonic forms, surely it can clothe itself also in Indian and Chinese forms. It may well be that we shall never have a full vision of Christ or a completed Christianity till the East has contributed its thought and practice to it.

III. Christianizing Internationalism

We have already seen that internationalism is not in itself a Christian ideal, that it may follow unchristian or even anti-Christian lines. It ought, then, to be unmistakable that foreign missions, with its representatives all over the world, has a great opportunity and responsibility in the years that lie ahead to promote an internationalism based on Christian ideals of brotherhood and good will.

The imperativeness of Christianizing internationalism becomes more apparent when we realize that the non-Christian world knows how even the so-called Christian world has broken down because its international relations

did not rest on Christian principles. The war has revealed to non-Christian peoples, as well as to us, the unchristian character of much of our national life, based on selfish ambition, desire for expansion regardless of others, domination, suspicion, secrecy, and fear. That this was actually felt abroad and was often interpreted as a failure of Christianity itself is recognized by practically all the correspondents with whom the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook has been in touch. It may be worth while to make this clear by a few quotations from such correspondents.

"In India leaders of educated circles asked the missionaries to explain to them, very shortly after war had been declared, how it could be that two nations which had been so closely associated in missionary activity in India were now engaged in such a war with one another. At first it seemed as though this war were designed to act as a great obstacle to the progress of Christ's Kingdom in Asia."

"The effect in China was at first decidedly adverse to Christianity. They considered that this was a quarrel among the Christian nations because of their jealousy of one another and that the boasted Christianity had failed to do any good in Europe. It had aroused in them pride in material advance and had done nothing more than Confucianism for the good of the world and indeed hardly as much."

"The war made a wrong impression about Christianity, since the Japanese at large take the European countries as Christian nations and took the war as fighting between brothers in the same family, without making any distinctions."

"The moral breakdown of civilization involved in the deliberate planning of a war of world-conquest on the part of a group of reputedly Christian nations has not been without its unsettling effect upon the educated men in all non-Christian countries. The evidence accumulates that the first outbreak of this war was widely heralded on the part of the press and the educated leaders in Asia as an evidence of the failure of Christianity."

As the war went on, however, and especially after the entry of the United States into the war, this attitude changed considerably. In most of the non-Christian lands there came to be a widespread impression that there was a genuine moral issue involved and that the Allies were fighting in support of the worthier ideal. Again quotations from our correspondents will illustrate the change in attitude:

"The most thoughtful opinion among the Chinese was well voiced by an address delivered by a Christian Chinese to a group of government students, in which he set forth most vividly the incidents of the situation which placed the responsibility of the war upon the materialism of the world at the present time, particularly the materialism of Germany."

"We understand in Japan that it is the abuse of power that has come into conflict with the true spirit of civilization and respect for the rights of others, and that to maintain this men have been prepared to suffer and even make the great sacrifice."

"The war has raised questions that such things should happen among Christian nations, but it has not in any way lowered the estimate of Christian standards."

"As time went on, however, and the moral issues became more clearly understood, it was seen that the war was not a failure of Christianity but a failure of men to apply Christianity."

"As the nature of the struggle became evident and the moral forces in Christian nations arose to meet the challenge, the first impression was modified to such an extent that the missionaries in some countries reported that the war was actually producing a more open mind to the claims of Christianity and a clearer discrimination between nominal and actual Christianity."

We now have, therefore, a new occasion and a new responsibility for proclaiming that the only foundations of safety and ordered life of social groups, the nation, or the world, are the Christian principles of liberty, democracy, justice, cooperation, service, and love. Jesus' ideal

of a universal Kingdom of God, based upon righteousness and love and compounded of all the nations, shines out with a new splendor and may be proclaimed with new conviction and meaning. The League of Nations and its need for the Christian spirit may become a text for a sermon in the remotest villages of India or Central Africa.

The possibility either of a world-dominating nationality or of a nation existing in isolation seems to be shattered forever, so for the first time, perhaps, it is generally recognized that the most intensive devotion to the service of a nation is entirely compatible with the objective of a brotherhood of nations. Christian truths ought now, more than ever, to have their strongest appeal to the nations when stated in terms of their universal application. It is a part of the missionary message in the new world situation that no nation can live as an end in itself, but must find its place in the family of nations, that the salvation of the nation is for the sake of the salvation of the world.

IV. The Internationalizing of Christianity

But we cannot hope to Christianize internationalism unless we thoroughly internationalize Christianity. In a day when the war has set our nation at large thinking in international terms and assuming responsibilities in world affairs, a day when world measurements have been laid upon all our thinking, the Christian teacher more than any other man cannot accept a national outlook as adequate. Both at home and abroad we must more deliberately seek to cultivate an international Christian consciousness. When an army of two million of our young men has gone on a "foreign mission" across the sea, we are better able to understand that whatever happens anywhere is of significance everywhere, that if one member of the human family suffer, all suffer with it. The demand for international relief on a huge scale in the Near

East, as a result of the suffering caused by the war, is also a new witness to the missionary contention that we cannot now be indifferent to any part of the world.

If the Church is really to develop such an international Christian consciousness, at least two things are necessary. We must have, in the first place, a full appreciation of the universal character of Christianity. We need to recognize far more deeply that, though it will find varying expressions in different lands, there is at the heart of it a truth, an ideal, and a spirit of life which are indispensable to all mankind and to which the human heart will respond without distinction of East or West, border, or breed, or birth. In the second place, the missionary movement must become the concern of the whole Church. It must receive a support that it has never yet begun to have. When the task of foreign missions is conceived in the large way of which we have been speaking, it can no longer be thought of as the business simply of certain boards, or of missionaries, or of a somewhat limited group of saints. To be a Christian and to have the missionary spirit become synonymous.

PART II

THE EFFECT OF THE WAR ON THE RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK IN VARIOUS LANDS

CHAPTER V

THE EFFECT OF THE WAR ON THE VITALITY OF THE NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

War powerfully arouses all the personal and social emotions. On the one hand it stirs those lower, or less worthy, emotions which the distinctly ethical religions seek to suppress. On the other hand, it enhances the higher, nobler emotions which are fostered by the very best that there is in religion. Thus, in every organized religion war produces varied, and even contrary, effects, which must frankly be recognized as both quickening and deadening to that particular religion, as well as to the cause of religion as a whole.

The main logical demonstration of the recent Great War doubtless seems to the staunch Christian to have been the inadequacy of any religion except Christianity to save the world. Yet the war has also evoked in unexpected quarters certain remarkably progressive religious phenomena. However inconsistent these may be with their own past, yet some of them may be recognized as the workings of the Spirit of God. Both sets of facts must be grasped, in order to appreciate the new complexities and also the new responsibilities of Christian missions after the war.

I. Hinduism

Two hundred and seventeen millions of our fellowmen in India are organized under a religious system which teaches theoretically that the highest aim of life is to live in mystical union with an impersonal, non-moral Supreme Being, called Brahma. But practically Hinduism

consists mainly in conformity to traditional religious ceremonies and to caste exclusiveness. Religiously the Hindus are not expected to give loyalty to any superior Being or to any group that is distinctly moral.[1]

A. *Evidence of Revival*

Even more unpredictable and remarkable than the loyalty of India to Great Britain during the war was the emergence in some circles of Hindu thought of another higher and wider loyalty—*a loyalty to the religious interests of all of the caste-divided Hindus, and even a regard for the religious interests of the entire world.*

After two years of the World War a prominent American publishing house put forth a book on comparative religion which was distinctly a war book, namely, Harendranath Maitra's "Hinduism, the World-Ideal," with an introduction by G. K. Chesterton.[2] The Hindu author makes certain criticisms of Western Christendom which are all too true. But the description which he offers of Hinduism is ninety-nine per cent the idealized imagination of a religionist who, as is indicated by his quotations from the Bible, has received far more than he appreciates from Jesus Christ. The Hinduism which is described in this book is not existent in India, nor has it ever been existent there to any appreciable extent. However, the significance of the book is not its historical accuracy or inaccuracy, but the appeal which this Hindu makes to his own co-religionists and to the world at large for a religion characterized by the love of God and by service to humanity. At the beginning and the conclusion are passionate appeals for India to give salvation unto all the

[1] In the Upanishads, which are the most authoritative theological scriptures of Hinduism, the sense of moral guilt and of moral responsibility is explicitly canceled for the knower of the pantheistic Brahma, e.g., "Sacred Books of the East," vol. I, pp. 67, 84, 91, 130, 267-277, 293-294; vol. II, pp. 63, 168-169, 180, 199, 217, 282.

[2] New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1916, 137 pages.

world through supplying a true universal spiritual religion. The following quotations are typical:

"In studying Western civilization, I have felt that there is something lacking. This something India has" (p. vii).

"If we want to avert all future wars, even the possibility of war, we must humbly sit on a prayer-rug sometimes, instead of always rushing about in motor-cars. This rushing about always, without the corresponding poise and balance within, is the cause of this war of Armageddon" (p. viii, similarly again on p. 2).

"The West is not, and never has been, Christian. . . . . India loves Christ. She does not love Christianity; for she sees very little relation between the two" (p. 4).

Statements that Hinduism teaches God as Love: pp. 30, 36, 41, 42, 125.

Statements that Hinduism teaches service to humanity: pp. 54-55, 68-70, 79-81, 120-128, 129-137.

By as much as action for a new ideal is more significant than merely talk of a new ideal, there occurred a more noteworthy event in India one year later than the publication of a Hindu propaganda book in New York. The "Hindu Missionary Society" was founded in Bombay on an especially auspicious day, the Full Moon of July, 1917. Its three "working principles" are as follows:

a. He who calls himself a Hindu is a Hindu.

b. Any person wishing to come into Hinduism may be admitted to its fold.

c. The religious status of all Hindus is the same.

Each one of these three propositions is contrary to the history of Hinduism during its approximately 3,000 years since the Vedic period. The editor of *The Hindu Missionary* (the weekly organ of the movement) says frankly (April 7, 1919, p. 2): "We are advocating a new position in Hinduism. We do not pretend that the Shastra (i.e., the sacred scriptures of Hinduism) is wholly on our side; we believe that God is on our side. The idea is new; but, Sir, it is great. It is needed to save Hinduism from death."

"To make the whole world Hindu" is the definite slogan of this revivification of Hinduism which has been affected by the introduction of much of the Christian spirit.

The work of revivifying Hinduism is also being prosecuted by three other similar reforming and proselytizing Hindu missionary journals, which are conducted in the vernacular at Kolhapur, Allahabad, and Srinagar.

B. *Evidence of Weakening*

The foregoing and other reform movements in Hinduism have been consciously organized as an attempt to offset the glaring fact, substantiated in the last Decennial Census of India, that, in relation to the population as a whole and—more markedly—in relation to other religions, Hinduism is losing its hold in India. Whereas the Christian community increased five times as much as the natural increase, and whereas the Mohammedans also increased slightly, the Hindus, even though numbering 217,000,000, were diminishing by one per cent.

While Hindus have been relinquishing their religion in greater numbers than ever before, there has also been greater expression of dissatisfaction among those who have remained in their ancestral religious group.[3] The most eminent Hindu of western India, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, who has been Justice of the High Court of Bombay and Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, as well as head of the Prarthana Samaj (the reform movement within Hinduism in western India), has declared: "The ideas that lie at the heart of the Gospel of Christ are slowly, but surely, permeating every part of Hindu society, and are modifying every phase of Hindu thought."[4]

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[3] See the collection of such criticisms which have been assembled in J. N. Farquhar's "The Crown of Hinduism."

[4] J. N. Farquhar's "Modern Religious Movements in India," p. 445.

These tendencies constitute striking evidence of the penetrating effect of Christianity among Hindus—far beyond numerical results in reportable baptisms. Yet they also constitute a new peril to the progress of Christianity in India, namely, that many progressive Hindus will adopt a few features of Christianity, and then remain the more immovably in their somewhat improved Neo-Hinduism.

The greatest direct rupture which the Great War has effected in Hinduism is *the increased negligence of caste* —the observance of which has been the one and only unmistakable test of a person's being a Hindu. The approximately one million Indians who went overseas during the war—most of them Hindus—were forced to live and fight together, irrespective of previous social status. The still larger number of Hindus who remained at home and there helped to meet the national and international exigency perceived something they had never perceived before, namely, that one essential of any large success is interpersonal and intergroup cooperation. But extensive cooperation for an inclusive, serviceful purpose is a principle which is quite the opposite of the exclusiveness and divisiveness of the caste system in Hinduism.

II. Shinto

In the World War the only non-Christian nation which was in equal alliance with the United States and the European Entente was Japan. Its immemorial national religion, Shinto, is a system which is connected with nature-worship, but whose essence, in a word, is loyalty. Shinto teaches that religion consists chiefly in loyalty to the supreme in every sphere of life—loyalty to the head of the family, to the head of the clan, and, preeminently, to the head of the nation. The Mikado, according to theoretical Shinto, is to be regarded as the incarnation of deity.

A. *Evidence of Revival*

The theory of a genealogical descent of the Mikado from the Sun-Goddess Ameratasu has been decidedly weakened in Japan by the modern scientific and historical spirit. However, Shinto has been *revived in terms of the very latest development in internationalism,* according to the following translation of an extract from a Japanese newspaper, *The Niroku,* which appeared in the *Japan Daily Advertiser* of May 9, 1919:

"To promote the world's peace and the welfare of mankind is the mission of the Imperial Family of Japan. Heaven has invested the Imperial Family with all the qualifications necessary to fulfil this mission. The Imperial Family of Japan is as worthy of respect as God, and is the embodiment of benevolence and justice. The great principle of the Imperial Family is to make popular interests paramount. The Imperial Family is the parent, not only of his sixty millions, but of all mankind on earth. All human disputes, therefore, may be settled in accordance with its immaculate justice. The League of Nations, which has been proposed to save mankind from the horrors of war, can only attain its real object by placing at its head the Imperial Family of Japan; for, to attain its object, the League must have a strong punitive force of a super-national, super-racial character; and this force can be found only in the Imperial Family of Japan."

Thus in Japan, perhaps for the first time in history, there is now reinterpreted in terms of benevolent service the idea of the divine right of hereditary kings, which with the overthrow of the Manchu, Romanoff, Hapsburg, and Hohenzollern dynasties has been discarded everywhere else in the world. For the religion of Shinto the remarkable new development is that, for the first time in its history of two and a half millenniums, the ideal of religious loyalty has been extended by some thinkers to include religious privileges and responsibilities for all the other nations of the world.

At the same time the claim is being made for Shinto that it must become the universal religion. Dr. Kakehi,

a professor in the Imperial University of Japan, has been propagating such a revival of Shinto through his books entitled *"Ko-Shinto Taigi"* and *"Zoku Ko-Shinto Taigi,"* whose leading principles are summarized as follows:

"The Japanese are the chosen people of God, and the presence of God is especially manifested in the Emperor of Japan. Shinto is logically destined to be the universal religion and the saving culture of mankind. The duty of the Japanese people and of the Emperor of Japan is to spread that religion and culture, until the Emperor of Japan shall become the supreme temporal and spiritual ruler of the world. This conquest of the world is to be made by peaceful means; but it seems reasonable that, if peaceful means fail, the power of might may be tried."[5]

Remarkable is it how in this nation which had helped to overthrow Germany there reappears the characteristically Prussian idea of a superior Kultur which may properly accomplish world domination through violent, if not through peaceful, means. Japan was a nation which for two hundred and fifty years (i.e., until forced open by Commodore Perry in 1853) had maintained rigorous exclusiveness from the rest of the world. It is both encouraging and alarming that through the stress of the Great War the program is now proposed that the people of Japan and the Emperor of Japan must strive to accomplish the redemption of the world, as best they can conceive it through their religion.

B. *Evidence of Weakening*

About thirty years ago the president of the Imperial University of Tokyo at a meeting of the Society of Sciences in 1890 "expressed the opinion that Shinto should not be regarded as a religion." The outworking of such an attitude towards Shinto is appropriately disclosed in a religious census of that same Imperial Uni-

[5] Quoted in *The Biblical World*, July, 1919, p. 434.

versity of Tokyo which shows the religious professions of the students as follows:[6]

Shintoists	8
Buddhists	50
Christians	60
Atheists	1,500
Agnostics	3,000

Although in the past a fairly admirable moral code, known as Bushido, has been developed in connection with Shinto, yet it is clear that the influence of Shinto has been waning in modern Japan. Even the Bushido code now seems to have lost something of its prestige, since as a result of the World War the heroic qualities of other peoples have been recognized.[7]

III. Confucianism

The purpose of Confucius might almost be summarized in the words, to establish "peace on earth, good will among men." The desired reign of peace was to be accomplished under the supervision of Heaven by each human being observing reciprocal propriety towards all other persons with whom he comes in contact. The universalism which is inherent in Confucianism has never been applied elsewhere than in China and in her neighbor Japan, where indeed Confucianism has been a very influential cultural agency. But the World War, by forcing China into more intimate international relations, has brought into more conscious application the inherent universalism of Confucianism's outlook.

A. *Evidence of Revival*

Thirty years ago a Confucianist leader, Kang Yu Wei, published a book which definitely propounded a league of nations as the characteristic Confucian world view.

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[6] M. S. Terry's "The Shinto Cult," p. 10.
[7] *Cf.* pp. 110, 111 of this volume.

He felt that the idea of the Chinese state was the highest possible idea, needing only to be applied on a wider scale.

In *Millard's Review of the Far East* (Shanghai, March 8, 1919) there appeared an article entitled "The Confucian Ideal of Perfect Peace" by Chen Huan-Chang, which sets forth *a proposal of universal peace on Confucian lines*. He begins as follows:

"While European scholars advocate nationalism, Chinese scholars advocate universalism. The time appears to have arrived when universalism should replace nationalism, and the Confucian principles of perfect peace should be put into practice. It is our duty to persuade the world to accept these principles."

After a quotation from Confucius' book "Spring and Autumn Annals," this Chinese author proceeds to sketch in twenty-five sections a scheme of universal government based upon righteousness and brotherliness of nations which shall so completely surpass everything both in the past and in the present that

"The year in which the Universal Government shall be established shall be considered the first year of the Universal Era. The different methods of counting years which are peculiar to religions and nations are to be continuously used only by those particular religions or nations, and not to be used universally.

"The above is an outline of general principles derived from the teachings of Confucius. Peking, February 28, 1919."

The author, it may be added, holds the degree of Ph.D. from Columbia University in the city of New York; he is a member of the Chinese Parliament, the founder and president of the National Confucian Association, and the protagonist of an unsuccessful attempt to make Confucianism the established religion in the Constitution of the Republic of China.

There was recently started in the province of Szechuan, but now having strong centers in Peking and elsewhere, a society which aims to promote the worship of the God

of all religions from the Confucian basis. The following is a summary of an article which appeared originally in the *Asiatic Review* for April, 1919, giving *a reinterpretation of the Confucian conception of God.*[8]

"In the matter of theism Confucianism knows nothing of the manlike gods of other races, which are pleased with sacrifices and peace-offerings and are expected to perform miracles. The difference between the Bible Jehovah and Shang-Ti is that the latter is not credited with capricious and unreasonable things. The true worship of the Confucian God is by deeds, not words. God does not need our advice. The disappearance of anthropomorphic theism is a natural outcome of the teachings of Confucius. When Christianity is purged of its Pauline interpretation, it will resemble Confucianism. Meanwhile Confucianists may feel confident that the system of ethics handed down by the Sage will pass unscathed through the crucible of modern thought, and will come out of it thoroughly purified and with its luster undiminished."

It should be mentioned that Dr. Lim Boon Keng, the author of the foregoing attempt to revive Confucianism, had so far come under Christian influences as to be baptized in Hongkong, but that he has returned to his ancestral religion.

There have also been other reawakenings in Confucianism. There was an old Chinese philosopher, Mo Ti, who taught the principle of universal love, in opposition to the strict Confucian principle of reciprocity. During the World War his writings have been largely reprinted in China and bought both by Christians and by non-Christians.

The war has stimulated not only the progressive liberals among Confucianists but also the reactionaries. The latter, upheld by the Japanese Government's militaristic policy, have revived the worship of Kuan-Ti, the God of War in popular Confucianism; and they have even added another militaristic deity, Yueh Fei.

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[8] Condensed in *The Biblical World,* July, 1919, pp. 434-436.

B. *Evidence of Weakening*

Confucianism was organized in an era of feudalism. Its method of maintaining peace was to maintain the Five Relationships into which Confucius analyzed all possible inter-human relationships, viz., ruler and ruled, husband and wife, parent and child, older and younger brother, and friend and friend. Confucius did formulate the rule of reciprocity. "Do not to others what you would not like yourself."[9] While the form of these words approximates the Golden Rule enunciated by Jesus, the fairly consistent interpretation of the Confucian principle of reciprocity has been aristocratic: that is, each individual should decorously maintain his end of the superior-inferior relationship which characterizes four-fifths of life, only one-fifth of these relationships of life, that of friends, being one of equality. Such a theory of aristocratic domination harmonizes little with democratic principles.

Furthermore, the retrospective ideal of Confucianism is incompatible with China's modern progressive ideal. The distinct purpose of that great patriot reformer Confucius in a time of sore social distress and relapse was to restore the pristine peace and glory of ancient China.

"Follow the ancients. Walk in the trodden paths. Let today be as yesterday, and in no way different from the customs and practices of the ancestors. As the fathers did, so must the children do. No generation may esteem itself better than the past. They must deem worthy what their fathers have deemed worthy, and love only what their fathers have loved."[10]

Both consciously and unconsciously the progressive *modern Chinese have quite abandoned the ideal of stagnant conservatism* which Confucianism has explicitly prescribed. Ancestor-worship is being omitted. Confucian temples are being deserted. Can the old Confucian

[9] "Analects of Confucius" 15.23, and again similarly in 5.11 and 12.2; also in Mencius' "Doctrine of the Mean" 13.3 and in "The Great Learning," 10: 2.

[10] *The Great Learning,* 3.5.

classics and religious ideals be revived by a process of reinterpretation, in order to furnish the necessary basis for the new democratic and progressive movement which has made its way into China from closer contacts with the rest of the world?

IV. Buddhism

The religion which had the honor of being the first to overpass national boundaries and become international was Buddhism. It was the example of the devoted founder, and not the teachings of Buddha, which sent that heretical offshoot from Hinduism into all "The East." Theoretically Buddhism requires renunciation of the world, which is evanescent, worthless, painfully miserable. And at present Buddhists are all but indifferent to the world, even to the World War.

A. *Evidence of Revival*

The Buddhist King of Siam, the only country in the world, besides self-isolated Thibet, which maintains Buddhism as the established religion, was one of the first of the minor monarchs to join the European Entente Allies. Promptly after the signing of the armistice of November 11, 1918, he issued a Royal Proclamation, which *attributed the winning of the war to the favor of Buddhist deities:*

"People of Siam! Now that the great blessing of peace has returned to the world, we ourselves as followers of the Holy Buddhist Religion hold the belief that the Holy Buddhist Trinity, which we all revere and daily worship, and the Virtues of the departed Monarchs who have been protectors of the Siamese Nation in the past, have aided in the achievement of the victory; therefore, on the second of December, which is the anniversary of My Coronation I will proceed to the Royal Plaza in the center of the Capital; and together with the Princes of the Royal House, the officials of the Government, the officers and men of my Army and Navy, and corps of Wild Tiger Scouts, will there offer up a Thanksgiving

Prayer to the Holy Emerald Image of our Lord Buddha, and pay reverence to the Royal Statues of the Monarchs of the last five reigns which are enshrined in the precincts of the Royal Temples, and invoke the Holy Buddhist Trinity and the Virtues of My Royal Ancestors to protect and safeguard our Siamese Nation and all the nations with whom we are allied, and vouchsafe to us a lasting peace and happiness."

Such are the devotion and propaganda of the chief Buddhist ruler in the world at present, King Rama of Siam, who was educated in Oxford University and has traveled widely in Europe and America. Not four months before the outbreak of the World War, in a speech to his "Wild Tiger Scouts" on April 25, 1914, he had declared:

"I have examined all the religions myself, and I believe the Buddha religion to be the best. I know about the Christian religion better than some foreigners do, because I was educated in Europe, where I studied Christianity and passed an examination and got first honors in it."[11]

So far as reports have come to us there does not seem to be special evidence of a revivification of Buddhism as a direct effect of the war elsewhere than in Siam, although for some time past the Buddhists of Japan have been actively imitating Christian propaganda.

B. *Evidence of Weakening*

After a brilliant career of one thousand years in India, Buddhism was evicted from the land of its birth, where (according to the last "General Report of the Census of 1911," p. 125) there are only about 2,000 survivors of purely Indian Buddhism. There are more or less active Buddhist sects elsewhere in the Far East, particularly in Japan. The foremost European authority on this religion, Professor Thomas W. Rhys Davids of University College, London, in his learned compendium avers that

[11] Quoted by Dr. Robert E. Speer in the Report of Deputation Sent by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in 1915, p. 35.

"not one of the five hundred millions who offer flowers now and then on Buddhist shrines, who are more or less moulded by Buddhist teaching, is only or altogether a Buddhist."[12]

If strictly loyal to the original teaching to renounce altogether the miserableness of life in this worthless world, Buddhism cannot consistently seek to improve the world in any way whatsoever.

V. Mohammedanism

Of all the non-Christian religions in the world, the one which has been the most vitally connected with the World War, and the one which will perhaps undergo the greatest transformation as the result of the war, is Mohammedanism. Its chief cities, Mecca and Medina, Cairo and Constantinople, have all been located within the zone of the war. Its official head made an *ex cathedra* appeal to the whole body of adherents of that religion throughout the world, as has not been the case in any other religion. Followers of the ruthless fighting Prophet of Arabia have, however, been found on both sides of the world conflict.

Inasmuch as the present volume contains (Chapter XII) a separate treatment of this important subject, the present chapter will merely mention that there have been recent evidences of revival in Mohammedanism, such as the remarkable spread of Islam in Africa before the war, the Pan-Islamic movement before the war, the revival of the original Moslem power in Arabia, viz., the Kingdom of the Hijaz; and, on the other hand, evidences of weakening, such as the long steady decline of Mohammedanism in its old strongholds, the failure of the Holy War (*Jihad*), and the downfall of the nominal Head of Islam, the Turkish Sultan.

Mohammedanism teaches that each individual's duty

[12] "Buddhism, A Sketch of the Life and Teachings of Gautama the Buddha," p. 7.

is to give submission (*islam*) to Allah, and that it is the duty of those who have thus submitted themselves (*Moslems*) to attempt to subjugate all other people to the same inscrutable, non-moral God of power, or else to exterminate the non-Moslems. This spirit will not pass away from the world until mankind has been organized into a nobler moral ideal. However, the latest developments in this organized system are significant.

A. *Evidence of Revival*

As a concrete instance of the active interest which some Mohammedans are taking in world improvement and world peace there may be quoted part of a letter which has been circulated in the public press of America. It was written on June 18, 1919, from Haifa, Syria, by Abdul Baha Abbas, who is the present head of the Bahaist sect of Mohammedans, and addressed to a person whom he had met on a visit to the United States.

"To the Honourable William Sulzer, Ex-Governor of New York: Greetings! O thou who art the well-wisher of humanity, felicitations!

"I am hopeful that in accordance with the teachings of Baha'o'llah there shall soon be established a Great Tribunal, the membership of which shall be composed of the best men and women from all the Governments of the earth. This Great Tribunal must be the guarantor of universal peace. The present is the beginning of the dawn of universal peace. . . . .

"The question of universal peace is only one of the principles of the teachings of Baha'o'llah. These teachings have other principles that make them complete. . . . . Through the favour of the True One and by the Word of God, I pray that the League of Nations shall soon become a fact, that universal peace shall thenceforth be established, and that then the brotherhood of man shall be recognized."

B. *Evidence of Weakening*

As an indication of the many relapses on a large scale

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which have taken place in Mohammedanism there may be quoted the following summary:

"Speaking only of events of very recent years—the French occupation of Morocco, the Italian conquest of Tripoli, the Anglo-Russian agreement with reference to Persia, the defeat of Turkey by the Balkan States, the dethronement of the Khedive, the successful rebellion of Arabia constitute a series of catastrophes unparalleled in the history of Islam. The end of Moslem rule in the world may be nearly as swift and spectacular as was its beginning."[13]

Conclusion

The World War has produced stirrings of new life, not only in Christendom, but also in practically every organized religion in the world. Many of these advances in other religions have received their impulse from Christianity, but they lack the complete ideal and the dynamic which Christians prize preeminently in the Lord Jesus Christ. However, it is now, as never before, a race between religions for the possession of the world. Some of the signs of revivification which have appeared in the non-Christian religions may seem alarming. Yet may we not be reassured and stimulated by realizing that in these signs of revived vitality we can see the Holy Spirit of God working in quarters where previously people had not been attentive to the divine call to go forth into all the world and preach to every creature the best gospel which they themselves have received? Never has the situation been so complicated, so solemnizing, so hopeful for the world-wide establishment of the Christian religion evidenced both by revivifyings and weakenings in the non-Christian religions.

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[13] E. C. Moore's "The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World," pp. 211, 212.

CHAPTER VI

THE WAR AND NEW INFLUENCES AMONG ORIENTAL WOMEN

1. *There has been an awakening of a world consciousness among the women of the Orient directly traceable to the World War.*

How momentous a change this is will be fully appreciated only if we realize at the outset that in certain large areas these women had not yet awakened even to a national consciousness. For many of them the tribal life had been all. In her "African Adventurers" Jean Mackenzie reports the following conversation between a young school boy and his mother.

"They say we live in Africa," said Mejo.

"Who says so?" asked his mother.

"The teacher says so," said Mejo.

"What kind of a teacher says so—is it the white man or one of the black people?"

"Even if it were a black teacher—and it was, it was Ela from Asok—will you doubt it? He heard it from the white man."

"Was it a word from God?" asked Mejo's mother. "Did Ela read God's Word that we live in Africa?"

"Well, then," said Mejo's mother, "I don't believe it. I who have lived in this forest always, did I ever hear that we live in Africa? What the old and the wise of the tribe never knew, how can the white man know it—who is a stranger of yesterday? If you ask me where we live I will still tell you that we live in the country of the Bulu tribes. It is just pride that is in all this teaching that Ela teaches."

Suddenly, in 1914, at the sound of guns on the frontiers of France, men of all races were summoned to forget their own peoples and boundaries and to offer their lives

in a world war. The women of Africa, India, China, and the islands of the sea sent husbands, sons, and brothers to the army of the Allies, and their hearts ran swiftly with their men. Even from the barred windows of harem and zenana there opened up a new world outlook.

The war resolved itself into a great living geography lesson to millions of women of the East. In some of their communities foreign soldiers were lodged. From these and from the returning soldiers, with their wonderful tales of other lands, were brought new conceptions of the world to the women who for centuries had thought in terms of their own locality only. The countries of people who had hitherto been known only as white men, foreigners, or by less complimentary titles, have now become almost as real as their own. The foreign soil on which their men had fought and died could no longer be utterly remote from them. A Hindu woman, Sarojini Naidu, has voiced the new song of the women of the East who have shared in the sorrow of the world:

"Gathered like pearls in their alien graves,
Silent they sleep by the Persian waves,
Scattered like shells on Egyptian sands
They lie with pale brows, and brave, broken hands,
They are scattered like blossoms mown down by chance,
On the blood-brown meadows of Flanders and France."

To help the men who had gone away the women of the Orient joined together, even as here, to do their part. In thousands of little villages groups of them met by the well to work for the soldiers through Red Cross and Red Crescent societies. And often while they worked, a foreign woman spoke to them of the work women in other lands were doing and then as a result, minds jumped across chasms of custom and years, especially when they knew a common sorrow. It is interesting to learn, however, that even the enlarged outlook and the

common peril and sacrifice do not yet seem to have made definite impression on the caste system in India. There these Red Cross groups held rigidly to their caste separation, meeting separately. But there were Oriental women who went further than this in their deeds of mercy. A group of Japanese women sent helpers and money into Siberia to minister to the refugees, and a group of Chinese nurses, under the leadership of a missionary doctor, went to that same land to give relief. Such endeavors as these in behalf of their men far away could not fail to awaken both the national and the international consciousness—which result was also stimulated, particularly in Japan, by the many columns in the newspapers dealing with the situation in other lands.

2. *A second important influence of the war on women in the Orient has been an increasing sense of feminine freedom, which will in time make for a universal social democracy.*

Even in the West we have recognized this new stimulus to freedom, though we had thought Western women were emancipated before the war, and have observed them courageously undertaking untried tasks. There has come, too, in Western lands greater political freedom, with votes for women—meaning ultimately far more than votes. It is here and in a trice it will be there. In the papers but a few weeks ago we read of an appeal for suffrage for the women of India presented in the British Parliament from Sarojini Naidu, the poet quoted above. What wonder that the bond slaves of India cry out! Yet only one per cent of India's women can read—which indicates the peril of granting unlimited political power at the present time.

The new freedom of women in the East is manifesting itself socially. Although there is still distrust of women and the dominance of man is shown in the seclusion of the women of the better classes in most parts of the

East, and in the virtual slavery of them all, they are breaking away and in many cases men themselves are leading in the reform and demanding, instead of slaves, educated companions. Many of the women have found that they possess powers of which they had not known. They are not willing, once having made the discovery, to settle back into the old inactivity and monotony. Many others, tired of the old work and its scale of living, are seeking new sensations. There is a new valuation of women both by women themselves and by the community, expressed in a sentence of an address given by a Japanese statesman, "Every thinking person realizes that no nation rises above its womanhood."

3. *There is a rising concern among Eastern women in social questions.*

The interest in social problems has developed further during the war. Margaret Burton in her "Women Workers of the Orient" tells of Chinese women who at the time of the Revolution actually organized companies for military drill and when advised by wise leaders to desist turned their efforts to the gentle art of making bombs. In China there are now at least ten special objects toward which various societies work. They are the abolition of foot-binding, the education of women, the prohibition of concubinage, the forbidding of child marriages, reforms in regard to prostitution, social service for women in industry, the encouragement of modesty in dress, better terms of marriage leading toward marriages for love, the establishment of political rights, and the general elevation of the position of women in the family and the home. Far from attainment, how sad a commentary on the life of the vast majority of Oriental women is this advanced program of social progress!

There is an increased and hopeful interest in health and sanitation. In countries where there are so few physicians that the vast majority of women are born,

live, suffer, and die with absolutely no medical aid it is comforting to realize that help is at hand. In these countries, where men may not give medical aid to women, there are now a few women physicians—159 women doctors to 150,000,000 women in India, ninety-three to 200,000,000 women in China. Through their few mission hospitals trained nurses are working miracles of healing. The blind see, the lame walk, lepers are cared for, suffering motherhood is comforted. The news spreads from hovel to hovel and from palace to palace.

"Is it a little thing that she hath wrought?
Then life and death and motherhood be naught."

Today women are establishing medical schools where hundreds and thousands of Indian and Chinese women are to receive training as physicians and nurses and learn the principles of sanitation and public health. The Government of India has recognized the pitiful need which only Christian women physicians can meet and has pledged one-half the maintenance of the new medical school opened a year ago in Vellore, through the union of American and British boards under the leadership of Dr. Ida Scudder. It guaranteed this help if six women should enter as students. Sixty-nine young Indian women applied for entrance when the school opened. Only eighteen could be admitted. Fourteen of these went up for examination this summer and took the highest rank in Madras Presidency. This year there are eighty-five eager applicants. New influences these, for the women of the Orient, to be multiplied we trust a thousand-fold, for there is no battlefield in all the world where the sum of human suffering is so great as on this battlefield of motherhood, and in the East those who die in these trenches are not even women, but broken flowers of childhood.

During the past five years we have seen remarkable advance also along educational lines. In India, China,

and Japan colleges for women have come into existence, perhaps in spite of the war rather than because of it. We may look for their foundations and the beginnings of the "divine discontent" among Oriental women in the days following our Civil War, when women's boards of foreign missions were organized. When American women, touched to a new pity through their loss and suffering in the war, first realized the conditions of Oriental women's lives, there were no schools for girls in the East anywhere. When the first village schools opened, no one dreamed of colleges for women within fifty years nor of the remarkable social program of the Young Women's Christian Association. From the little mud schoolhouse has come an ever increasing army of girls on the march up the hill of education from primary and secondary school on to normal school, college, and professional school. These women are to provide the leadership for the women of the East.

It is a sign of particular hopefulness in the educational movements of the Orient that the student class is thinking more in the terms of everyday life and the service of the hour. No one who has followed the student movement in China can fail to realize its importance and the grave situation unless this and similar movements in India and Japan become Christian.

4. *Economic conditions in the East mark a new era for women and entail a hundred new dangers.*

According to type, the woman in the Orient has all through the years of her history given time and vitality to the making of the necessities of life. Whether that contribution has been made in the field or home there has been no question as to her ability, her indispensableness, and her giving without stint. Today there are new necessities and she is adapting her energy to meet them. But we have learned in this free world for women in America some of the perils accompanying the entrance of women

into commercial and industrial life. Present-day methods are different from the leisurely methods of the old East and it is after the factory method of the tense, rushing West that the Eastern woman is being exploited today.

In Sivas there are 5,000 workers in rug factories, many of them women, many children almost too young to speak. Their working hours are from five in the morning to six in the evening and in summer from four in the morning to eight at night. The reports of certain mills in India complacently state that the law does not permit women to work more than eleven hours, thus giving them ample time for their domestic duties morning and evening. In India many a worn operator refuses to leave her machine at noon, too exhausted to do anything but lie down beside the iron monster that, combined with long hours and bad air, is grinding out her life and weakening all her children for generations to come. Will the whisper of a living wage and humane hours never come to her? Will she never rebel? Some feel that that day is not far distant.

In progressive Japan, where 34,000 girls are working in the coal mines, a record worse even than that of the Indian mills reveals 130 plants where the girls work from five in the morning till ten at night with an hour of rest at noon, in return for which they receive in addition to food and clothing, wages of about forty cents a month. This, of course, is an extreme situation, but Mr. Fisher's report on 305 factories in Tokyo a few years ago showed that only one-third of the women received as much as five dollars per month, working twelve hours a day seven days a week. The wages of factory women are somewhat higher now but still pitiably low. There are no Sabbaths in that man-made, machine-managed world. Night work is common and crowded conditions lead to tuberculosis. The conditions are intolerable, physically and morally. One of the mill overseers remarked, "We own the bodies, minds, and souls of those girls."

In Japan new thoughts, new temptations, new relationships are forcing themselves upon the half million of women who make up its industrial army. Three-fifths of them are under twenty years of age and every year 200,000 come in from the country to take the places of those who have left for various reasons. Thousands are incapacitated before the end of a year. What are the thoughts that press in upon these tired, often homesick women? Do they willingly become machines or do their fatigue and eventual dismissal result in smouldering resentment? Already there are indications that Eastern endurance has its limits. Many are already recognizing that labor unprotected and without the fortification of custom and understanding presents a grave problem. Both laborer and thinker are disturbed. Will the result be for good or ill?

China's women always have had clever fingers and to a marked degree they have been producers. When demand made machinery and the factory a necessity they became part of the organization and hundreds of thousands labor today in the industrial world. Unprotected by any law, they pour out life's energy into the making of silk, cotton, boxes, paper, and the like, with hours beyond their strength and wages insufficient for their barest needs. Already there are some among the people of China who see the folly of such expenditure.

We have noted the unrest and the questioning among Oriental women, but such discontent with the old may prove evil unless it is directed aright. We have rejoiced that new hopes have been born through education, social organization, and medical work, but we must make sure that the women of the East are to find their spiritual redemption—which will not come through education or social effort alone. A welfare worker was heard to say last winter that compulsory sanitation and compulsory education are the two things necessary for the reconstruc-

tion of the world. She had overlooked the fact that of these things the Germans were masters and that in those hands they had wrought for the destruction of the world. Something more is surely needed. While these blessed concomitants of religion are increasing rapidly, are the women of the East seeking the Kingdom of God and His righteousness? At present through an awakened interest in the Orient and a new appreciation of the wonderful possibilities of other races, coupled with a fear lest we be supercilious or patronizing, are we in danger of concluding that they do not need our Christian religion? A questionnaire was recently sent men and women in India and China, asking if they had observed any special religious development or awakening of spiritual consciousness during the war or since its close. Every reply referred to the great changes that have come and are still coming and warned against the dangers which accompany new freedom. Without exception they emphasized the great need of more Christian schools for girls. As Professor Chittanbar, the Christian leader at the college at Lucknow, expressed it: "It is not education alone that will help India's women. We have seen that the tendency of government education which is non-religious or anti-religious is to create a religious vacuum. The old superstitions are going. There is only this vacuum unless Christianity comes in." Dr. Wu Ting Fang said to an American woman, "Why don't you send Western Christian women first to live among our women and show them the danger lurking in the great new freedom that is coming to them?" Similarly a young woman now connected with the Chinese legation in Washington has pointed out grave dangers in the path of her progressive countrywomen and emphasized their need of Christ now in their changing world.

The present condition of Oriental women is caused in large measure by the false teaching of their religions regarding the position of women. Their true status will

be fully secured not by mere changes in social customs and organization but by a regenerating, living faith in Jesus Christ. Whatever we do to assist these women along physical, social, educational, and industrial lines, we must not fail to give them a clear understanding of their deepest need. The outlook for them depends largely on our own convictions and the emphasis which we place on the full Gospel of Jesus Christ. Friendliness expressed in education and social service alone will not suffice, for it is Christ and His Gospel that are the inspiration of all that is best in the social life of the world.

The situation is a challenge to Christian women throughout the world. The spiritual redemption of the women of the East cannot be accomplished without the extension of the sacrifice of Christ through His disciples. Women of the highest Christian experience and character must go and live the life of Christ with these women of the East and train them for the highest service. How shall they be secured? There is one way, an old way, little used. We plead, we write, we advertise, we organize, we campaign. But the key to the treasure house of Christian life comes from our Master who says to us, as He said to His helpless disciples long ago, "*Pray* ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth laborers into his harvest."

CHAPTER VII

THE WAR AND THE MISSIONARY OUTLOOK IN INDIA

The Great War has been one of the most stupendous events in modern times. How has it affected the missionary outlook in India? It has, in most cases, doubtless only accelerated processes which in the long run would probably, even without the war, have led to the same results.

I. The Effect of the War on India as a Whole

Among the more general results of the war affecting India as a whole may be mentioned the following, each of which is big with meaning for the missionary enterprise:

1. *The Breaking Down of India's Isolation.*

Indian students have read in foreign universities, Indian merchants and business men have fared forth in the interests of trade, Indian Swamis have preached Vedantism in Europe and America; but probably the greatest influence from the side of India in breaking down her isolation and giving her a larger outlook on life has been the fact that about 1,000,000 Indians have gone abroad in connection with the war. These represent the rank and file of the people, coming as they do from the villages of every part of India. With the close of the war, what impressions are they carrying back with them? They have observed the free, self-reliant, helpful share taken in war activities by the literate women of France, Britain, and America; and doubtless new ideas of woman

as partner and fellow-worker in the world's work have been engendered. Such impressions are bound to work toward a better status for women in India. They have been the recipients of the splendid ministry of the Army Young Men's Christian Association and have gotten a new conception of religion as consisting primarily in loving service, and capable of manifestation even when lips are closed to direct testimony. They have mingled freely with all sorts of people and many of their ordinary caste restrictions have been disregarded. Such experiences lie in the direction of the further modification of the rules of caste. They have seen how men of lowly origin also were brothers in the great struggle and were honored when they proved themselves heroes, and such experiences look toward a new and better attitude toward the depressed classes. In a word, 1,000,000 out of India's 315,000,000 have through their self-dedication to the cause of the Allies entered into a new and larger life. Observation of other lands and peoples has made comparisons possible and awakened the faculty of self-criticism. Kipling's "Eyes of Asia" is a splendid statement of this. On the part of the West the factors for breaking down the age-long isolation of India and preparing for a new internationalism are the British Government and Christian missions. Among the achievements and services of the British Government may be mentioned order, security, able administration, official honesty, education, railways, and canals. So far as the British Government in India has been penetrated by Christian ideals, it has been itself a preacher of righteousness and a witness to the truth. One need but recall the names of Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir Donald McLeod, Sir Robert Montgomery, and many another earnest Christian official, whose life and influence have been of the greatest missionary value. Nevertheless, the close connection which exists in the thought of the people of India between the British Government and Christian missions has been to some extent

a cause of embarrassment. Indian nationalism has so identified the two as to oppose Christian missions because opposing British rule. Notwithstanding the recent lamentable riots in Delhi, Amritsar, and Lahore, the future undoubtedly belongs to responsible self-government. Increasingly, then, the great mediating force between India and the West will be the Christian Church in India and Christian missions. Hitherto through its influence and legislation the British Government has helped to remove or modify some of the worst customs of India, such as *sati,* infanticide, premature cohabitation, the disability of the depressed classes, etc. But with the coming of home rule, Christian missions cooperating with the Christian Church in India must carry increased responsibility.

In many ways and by many means, then, the isolation of India is being broken down. What is the significance of this fact? For one thing, it means that, for good or for evil, India will be more and more closely bound up with the other nations of the world. Mutual influence will be exerted, as never before. What is to be the influence of India upon the West, what that of the West upon India? Indians who have visited Europe and America, including the soldiers who have taken part in the Great War, have seen the worst side as well as the best side of the life of the West. How thankful we ought to be that in trench and camp such undenominational and international organizations as the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Salvation Army, and the Red Cross have interpreted to the Indian soldier in terms that he could understand the very spirit of the religion of Christ; and that through hospital and dispensary, school and college, workshop and farm, the same thing has been done for India by the missions working in that land. India has become sensitive and plastic as never before. It is highly probable that with the close of the war there will be a new and larger preparedness to consider all sorts of messages, as well as the gospel message. The

rapid breaking down of the isolation of India has laid her open to all the currents of the world's thought, wholesome and unwholesome, good and evil alike. Multitudes of India's educated men, while nominally maintaining allegiance to their old faiths, are practically secularists. In order to meet the new and challenging situation in India, adequate reenforcements and adequate equipment are needed.

2. *The Promise of Home Rule.*

The pronouncement of August 20, 1917, defining the policy of the British Parliament as "the progressive realization of *responsible government* in India as an integral part of the British Empire," is correctly described as a "most momentous utterance."[1] It undoubtedly would have come in time, but the war has accelerated it. India's partnership with Britain in bearing the burdens of the war through the offering of a million men and a war loan of upwards of $500,000,000 undoubtedly had its effect in calling forth the pronouncement. The goal of responsible government has been defined, and so is in sight. It is to come gradually by successive stages, and "the British Government and the Government of India must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance." Such is the program of constitutional reform. The publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme has quickened Indian political thought and provoked throughout the country very keen debate. The recent lamentable occurrences connected with the "passive resistance" against the Rowlatt legislation may possibly postpone the day of home rule, but will scarcely abolish the hope of it. In these critical and delicate times the wise missionary has an extraordinary opportunity. He can declare himself unreservedly on the side of the parliamentary pronouncement of August 20, 1917, and from this vantage

[1] "Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms," p. 5, London, 1918.

ground of hopefulness and of sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people he may utter wise and sane counsels. There is no disguising the fact that in looking forward to "responsible self-government," which means a democratic form of government, India labors under serious disabilities. There is the heavy weight of illiteracy, less than ten per cent of the whole population being able to read. There is the lack of unity, due to diversity of religion, race, language, and custom, but most of all to caste. There is the attitude toward the "untouchables," by which 50,000,000 of India's people are denied the elementary rights of human beings. It is a hopeful sign, however, that the best people of India are becoming more and more conscious of these disabilities, and more and more determined to remove them. The promise and hope of home rule have already made the wheels of reform to move more rapidly. As India gradually assumes the burdens and responsibilities of self-government, there will be a new point of contact for the preaching of the Gospel. Character will be seen to be the great need. How to produce the integrity which is able to withstand the temptation to official corruption will be the great question. Here lies the opportunity of the Indian Christian Church. If she can show that such of her members as are called to positions of responsibility possess in general the character that lies at the foundation of honest and efficient government, then it will be manifest to the Indian people that to believe in Christ ministers to patriotism, honesty, and efficiency. In helping to remove the illiteracy of India, to lift up the depressed classes, and to create a spirit of brotherhood, Christian missions has done great things. These "good works" will be acknowledged by the Indian people in due time, and will stand as evidence that the religion of Jesus Christ ministers to the total welfare of India.

The question may be raised as to the effect on missionary effort of a larger degree of self-government on the

part of Indians, especially as these will be largely non-Christians. An Indian legal gentleman of wide observation and good judgment has furnished Rev. W. J. Clark with the following reasons for declining to be disturbed by the fear of unjust treatment:

a. "For a long time the paramount power will be British, which will see fair play.

b. "A keen desire to show fitness for exercising authority will lead to the avoidance of its abuse.

c. "The officials will be from the English-educated Indian class, who while nominally non-Christians, will be practically devoid of religious views and therefore of religious prejudice.

d. "To show that the people are united in the desire to secure greater political responsibility, concessions are already being made to other communities, and not least to the Christian community.

e. "Religious differences when they occur will be between Hindus and Mohammedans, and both will probably seek to enlist the votes of the other communities who hold the balance of power.

f. "The new spirit of patriotism desires the advancement of the people in all lines, and the leaders are sufficiently shrewd to observe the very real help given by missions and missionaries and will seek to retain that help."

The riots in India during March and April, 1919, in opposition to the Rowlatt legislation[2] and their stern repression by the British Government have greatly intensified racial bitterness. This may seriously hinder the work of missions in that land. Economic difficulties have had much to do with the unrest. Partial failure of the rains in 1918, added to the effect of the war in creating high prices, has resulted in famine conditions in many parts of India. Influenza alone has caused the death of 6,000,000. It is no wonder that under these circumstances India like the rest of the world has shown signs of "nerves." There is need of a very special degree

[2] See Report of the Rowlatt Committee, 1918.

of sympathy, patience, and hopefulness on the part of missionaries laboring in India.

3. *The Need of Popular Education as Equipment for Citizenship.*

This need stands in the closest connection with the "Home Rule" pronouncement of August 20, 1917. Responsible government means democratic government, the rule of the people and the responsibility of officials to those whom they represent. But, unfortunately, over ninety per cent of the people of India are illiterate. According to the census of 1911 only six per cent of the population of British India were literate, eleven per cent among men and one and one-tenth per cent among women.[3] The emphasis in the past on the part of both the Indian Government and Christian missions has been too exclusively in the direction of higher education. The new program of "responsible government" will surely bring with it a new sense of the need of a larger diffusion of education among the masses as a preparation for the duties of citizenship.[4] The various "mass movements" have brought multitudes of illiterate people into the Church. They need suitable training, in order to make them good Christians, and so good citizens. There is now on the part of all the Christian forces in India a sense of the urgency of this need. The opportunity furnished by the mass movements is a perilous one, unless handled with high Christian statesmanship. It is in view of this situation that the British-American Commission to study the problem of village education in India has been appointed.

4. *The New Industrial Program.*

The report of the Indian Industrial Commission (1916-1918) is another illustration of the effect of the war. On page two of the introduction we read: "The views of

[3] See "Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms," 1918, p. 111.
[4] See "Education and Citizenship in India," L. Alston, 1910.

Government and of the public have been further modified *under the stress of war necessities* [italics are the writer's], which have led to a still more definite adoption of the policy of State participation in the industrial development, and to the grant of State assistance to several industrial undertakings." So the old policy of *laissez faire* is abandoned. It is another by-product of the war. This new policy on the part of Government is a summons to us to survey the whole situation as regards industrial missions and to seek to formulate a policy of mission industrial development in harmony with the needs of the Christian community and of India as a whole. In the early days of mission work in India when Christian converts lived largely in cities, the emphasis was upon city industries. With the coming of the "mass movements," however, industrial mission work has been broadened so as to include the great village industry, agriculture. In fact, one of the most pressing problems connected with the mass movement Christians is the problem of their industrial and economic improvement. Hence the establishment of agricultural training schools in various places. The recent tendency on the part of industrial missions has been to provide not only simple agricultural training for illiterate village Christians, but also advanced industrial education for men of college grade. Hence the advanced agricultural courses in the Allahabad School of Agriculture and the industrial chemistry department of the Forman Christian College, Lahore. One thing is certain, that there will be a large industrial development in India during the next quarter of a century. In the interests of self-support it is vitally necessary that the Christian community should take its share in such a development.

The industrial awakening in India may be considered from a still larger point of view. It is a challenge to the Church of Christ to prove to a people rapidly advancing in modern industrial development the fundamental place

that God has and must have in such a movement. A rapid industrial development presupposes an equally rapid scientific development. The study of science, together with the methods of thought and action it brings with it, is one of the greatest forces known for destroying untrue beliefs. It is proving this abundantly in India. The educated man, particularly the scientist, is turning away from his religious beliefs. The natural tendency for a man who has had this experience is to lump all religious beliefs with his own, and believe them all untrue. This is particularly the case if he be engaged in building up some industry. He sees his success, and thinks that he has accomplished it himself, and sits back with smug satisfaction like the Rich Fool in Christ's parable. He has denied God's part in his success, and the result can be nothing but moral failure for himself and for all those with whom he is in contact, who admire his apparent success. The Church in India, at this formative stage in industrial development, has a tremendous opportunity to influence the character of the future industrial life.

If this industrial development can have strong Christian leadership, it should be possible to swing the whole movement towards Christianity, instead of away from every sort of religious ideal, as has happened in Japan from lack of Christian leadership.

5. *A New Place for Women in the Work of India and of the World.*

This, too, is in part a result of the war. What the militant suffragettes were clamoring and struggling for, namely, "votes for women," has come naturally through the very logic of events. The women of Britain and America have won the right of the suffrage through showing the bravery and doing the work of men. As never before in the history of the world, it is now the age of women. As illustrations of what women can do

in India reference may be made to Pandita Ramabai's great work for widows and orphans, not to mention the work of multitudes of other Indian Christian women and of the great body of women sent out to India as missionaries. The great mass of the women of India are under special disabilities owing to early marriage, widowhood, seclusion, and illiteracy. A brighter day is in sight. The recent establishment of colleges for women at Lucknow, Landour, Lahore, and Madras is significant. India's womanhood must be raised, educated, and helped to advance, along with the womanhood of Britain and America. We may confidently expect a vast development of female education during the next twenty-five years.

Hitherto the women of India have been the greatest block to progress. But now they also are caught in the tide of change which is sweeping over the land. Many are the evidences of this. In Lahore a group of well-educated Indian ladies has for a number of years been developing extensive community work, demonstrating questions of hygiene, sanitation, care of children, and the like. The same thing has been seen in other places. A similar spirit of helpfulness was shown during the influenza scourge.

Is it any wonder, then, that the call for equal suffrage is heard from these women who have seen and know and want to help? Is it strange that at the last meeting of the Indian National Congress at Delhi to discuss the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms there were several hundred women present—some of them taking a very active part in the debates? Such a thing would have been impossible five or six years ago—yet it is happening today. They are saying that they are right with the men in working for reform and advance. This means that instead of being the greatest drag on progress, the women of India are beginning to be and soon will be a great force for progress. There is greater opportunity and bigger need for Christian work among them than ever before.

6. *A New Conscience on the Subject of Strong Drink.*

This, too, has been greatly developed by the war. The rapid movement of the United States towards total prohibition has caught the attention of the world. The action of France and Russia in the early days of the war in prohibiting absinthe and vodka is significant. Powerful opponents of the traffic in strong drink have risen up in Britain. It is significant also that not long ago a resolution to prohibit the traffic was actually introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council of India and received the votes of a considerable number of Indian members. This last year for the first time a report on temperance was presented by the Anglican Bishop of Madras, Convener of the National Missionary Council's Standing Committee on Temperance. It is safe to say that the days of commercialized traffic in strong drink are numbered. The battle against strong drink and hurtful drugs will probably be fought out in India during the next twenty-five years, if not sooner. Much of the best sentiment of India, non-Christian as well as Christian, is on the side of radical temperance legislation. It is for the foreign mission bodies to join forces with the existing Indian sentiment in this great crusade.

II. The Effect of the War on the Indian Church

The six topics dealt with up to this point indicate the effect of the war upon India as a whole. We may now inquire what has been the effect of the war on the Indian Church and on Christian missions in India.

1. *A New National Spirit in the Churches.*

This is part and parcel of the movement for home rule, in fact its religious counterpart. It is perfectly obvious that just as there is to be "the progressive realization of responsible government" in the State, so there must be in

the Church. The presence of the national spirit in the Churches is proved by the large number of articles which have recently appeared on the relation between Church and mission, and also by local difficulties in various places. In this matter India is now just about where Japan was twenty years ago. A spirit of self-assertion is a phenomenon of adolescence. It is a sign of growth. But it calls for readjustment. Accordingly, the problem which confronts most or all of the foreign missions working in India is that of making such adjustments in mission organization as to provide for an adequate exercise of initiative and leadership on the part of the Indian Church. As a serious study of this problem, so far as it relates to the work of American missions in India, Dr. D. J. Fleming's work entitled "Devolution in Mission Administration" may be strongly recommended. After all, the Indian Church through her indigenous membership must in the nature of things be the great evangelizing agency in India. It is significant that during the last four years, synchronizing with the years of the war, the evangelistic spirit has been markedly developed, largely under Indian leadership, in connection with the "Evangelistic Forward Movement."

2. *A New Readiness for Cooperation in Mission Work.*

This, too, is one of the signs of the times, a tendency which has been greatly promoted by the war. If the war has taught the world anything, it is the need of cooperation. Union is strength, as the Allies found when finally all their forces were organized on a cooperative basis under one command. In South India the Madras Christian College for Women with twelve cooperating missions, the Tuberculosis Sanitarium at Madanapalle, the Medical School for Women at Vellore, and the Kodaikanal school for missionaries' children, are splendid

instances of cooperation. As suitable fields for cooperative effort may be mentioned women's colleges, as those at Madras, Lahore, Lucknow and Mussoorie, technical schools for normal training, agriculture, theology and medicine, and such a needed magazine as a Christian review for the whole of India. In this connection new developments in higher education need to be kept in mind. Already the Indian Government has begun to establish denominational and teaching universities. The Hindu university at Benares is the first example. A Mohammedan university at Aligarh will soon follow. The question inevitably arises as to the desirability or otherwise of a Christian university for the whole of India, to form as it were the capstone for the structure of Christian education. Such an institution could be established and adequately supported only on a cooperative basis. A splendid example of cooperation, largely due to the organizing genius of Dr. John R. Mott, is seen in the National Missionary Council of India with its system of provincial councils. This representative body deals with government in all matters of common interest and through its standing sub-committees conducts important investigations. The standing Committee on Christian Literature has recently finished its survey of Christian literature in India, and on the basis of this has prepared a statement of need and a program of work. Cooperative effort furnishes the only solution of the problem of an adequate Christian literature. Probably the relation between foreign mission and Indian Church needs to be recognized as essentially a cooperative relation. Missionaries, whatever their connection with the Indian Church and whatever theory is held as to the relation of Church and mission, in reality represent a foreign Church, the Church which sent them out originally and supports them on the field. The relation between the aiding foreign Church and the aided Indian Church is properly that of allies in a great spiritual campaign.

3. *A New Consciousness of the Need of Church Unity.*

The war has emphasized the fact that Christianity is able at such a crisis to present no united front to the world, no united appeal. The lesson to the *disjuncta membra* of the Church is obvious. We must aim at a closer union of the forces of the Gospel. Whether this end is to be accomplished by federation or by organic union is as yet uncertain. If organic union is the true ideal, it must be brought about by the principle of *comprehension,* each denomination making its contribution to the whole, while preserving many or most of its distinctive features. One thing is certain, that democracy is here to stay. The organization of a united Church must also be democratic. If bishops or superintendents are retained, as they probably will be, they must be made constitutional and elective officers. Autocratic church government is as much an anachronism in these days as autocratic secular government. The system of the National Council of Missions in India with the various provincial councils has strengthened the spirit of unity by promoting mutual acquaintance and appreciation. Not a few see the vision of a comprehensive "United Church" for all India.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WAR AND THE MISSIONARY OUTLOOK IN CHINA

In the discussion of this subject three factors need to be kept clear: first, the exact changes in international relationships and internal conditions in China due to the war; secondly, the bearing of the war on tendencies in missions already evident at the outbreak of the war; thirdly, the effect of the post-bellum political changes upon the missionary situation.

I. Political Changes

China joined the Allies against Germany in the third year of the war. When hostilities first broke out, she declared her neutrality after an abortive attempt to join Japan in the ousting of the Germans from Tsingtao. In November, 1915, she seriously proposed joining the Allies, but this step was not at that time approved. In February, 1917, following the lead of America, she protested against Germany's submarine warfare and on March 14th severed relations with Germany. Five months later, on August 14, 1917, after a violent disagreement between the executive and legislative branches of the Government, she declared war on Germany and Austria. Her activities were confined to the sending of labor battalions to Europe, 175,000 in number, to sending troops to Siberia, to the taking over of German and Austrian property, and in the spring of 1919 to the repatriation of practically all enemy aliens. By the terms of the peace treaty China is relieved of further payment of Boxer

indemnities to Germany and of any treaty obligations with Germany and Austria.

The war-time changes in China's relations with Japan were even more significant than in those with Germany. In the first month of the war Japan declared war on Germany, after sending an ultimatum demanding the turning over of Tsingtao to Japan, with a view to its eventual restoration to China. In the second month Japan landed troops in Shantung, who established themselves at strategic points throughout the province and two months later, on November 7th, forced the surrender of Tsingtao, the German stronghold. Two weeks afterward the Twenty-One Demands were formulated, by which she sought to take over Germany's rights in Shantung, to consolidate the gains made in Manchuria and Mongolia in the Russo-Japanese War, to secure a controlling share in China's iron output, to mark out a new sphere of interest in Fukien and invade the British sphere in the Yangtze Valley, and by the appointment of military, political, and financial advisers, and by participation in the control of the national police and in the supply of munitions of war, to make China, with all its resources, tributary to Japan. These demands were presented secretly in the following month, January, 1915, and after four months' negotiation, an acceptance of the first four groups was forced through by an ultimatum of war, the last and most extreme group being deferred for future discussion. The next year, 1916, Japan concluded a secret alliance with her one-time enemy, Russia, in which they mutually agreed to assist each other in defending their respective possessions in China against any action by a third power. In February and March, 1917, secret agreements were made with England, France, Russia, and Italy, whereby these nations gave formal approval to the Japanese claim to the German holdings in Shantung. In the fall of 1917, the Lansing-Ishii agreement between Japan and America relating to China

was signed, whereby Japan's special interests in China were recognized and a reaffirmation was made by both countries of their adhesion to the open-door policy and the territorial integrity of China. In October, 1917, a civil administration instead of a military one was set up by the Japanese in Shantung. In September, 1918, a secret agreement was made by the Japanese Government with certain Chinese officials, whereby the latter recognized Japan's further claims to previous German railway rights in and near Shantung. In addition, Japanese financial interests were vigorously pushed through loans and investments, the totals reaching over $300,000,000 in these two years. Finally at the Peace Conference, after a direct clash between the representatives of China and Japan, the Japanese claims to the German holdings in China based on the secret treaties and agreements already mentioned were conceded, China at the last moment refusing to sign the treaty containing these provisions as to Shantung. The net result of the war as it affected Japan and China was obviously a decided advance of Japanese interests and possessions in China. As a result of her strategic position and control of communications in Korea, Mongolia, Manchuria, and Shantung, Japan has a correspondingly increased measure of economic and political control over North China and Peking.

China's relations with the United States during the war were especially close. She trusted America and followed her into the war largely through the influence and persuasion of the American minister at Peking. President Wilson's speeches were translated into Chinese and created widespread admiration and interest. It is only stating facts to say that the Lansing-Ishii agreement, which many Chinese interpret as an American-Japanese alliance and a tacit consent on the part of America to Japan's policies in China, and more recently the approval by the American delegates of the Shantung settlement, have not been in line with the Chinese expectations or

hopes in American friendship and much-emphasized national ideals.

In her relations to the Allies in general and to the League of Nations, China is in a difficult position. With the general ideals and aims of the Allies and the League, as expressed to them, practically all Chinese are in sympathy. Against the particular application of these principles to China as expressed in the secret agreements of 1917 and in the Shantung articles, all patriotic Chinese vehemently protest. Their feeling is expressed in a statement of the students explaining the nation-wide movement of protest, following the announcement of the Shantung settlement. One paragraph of this document reads:

"A Great War has been fought in Europe. On the fields of France and Belgium the sons of the great nations of the West have given their lives that democracy and justice might exist upon the earth. Throughout the world like the voice of a prophet has gone the word of Woodrow Wilson, strengthening the weak and giving courage to the struggling. And the Chinese people have listened and they too have heard. They have been told that their four-thousand-year-old doctrine that peace is the greatest of all aims of a nation has become the slogan of mankind. They have been told that in the dispensation which is to be made after the war, unmilitaristic nations like China would have an opportunity to develop their culture, their industry, their civilization, unhampered. They have been told that secret covenants and forced agreements would not be recognized. They looked for the dawn of this new Messiah; but no sun rose for China. Even the cradle of the nation was stolen."

Viewed from the immediate present, the resulting situation is most confusing and unsatisfactory. On the other hand, from the standpoint of the future, there are great possibilities in the League of Nations if it will include the Orient as well as the Occident in a program of impartial justice.

In internal affairs the Chinese Republic has passed

through some significant phases during the war. Two attempts were made to restore the monarchy, the first by Yuan Shih-kai in the winter of 1915-1916, his imperial regime lasting eighty days; the second by Chang Hsun in 1917 in an attempted restoration of the Manchu boy prince, whose regime lasted eight days. The power of the military governors, who control their own soldiers, has become increasingly felt. In 1918 the members of the parliament which had been dissolved the previous year met at Canton, while another parliament was convened at Peking. Thus far efforts to bring the two governments together have failed. Hsu Shih-chang was elected president by the northern parliament in September, 1918, but as yet his election has not been recognized by the south. The resulting discord and lack of unity have been a disappointment to all friends and well-wishers of China. As an American adviser has said, we may look upon this struggle "with a sigh, but never with a sneer."

II. The Bearing of the War on Missionary Tendencies

In general it may be said that the war did not so much introduce new phenomena in missions as accentuate tendencies and movements already in progress. An article in *Millard's Review* of December 14, 1918, called "Studies in Mission Psychology," which reviewed thirty manuscripts submitted in a competition on the subject of War and Missions, said:

"Few of the points made by the writers are new; indeed it can be said that the articles deal more with acceleration of movements in existence before the war began than with new ones arising out of the war. . . . . We may confidently expect, as these writers suggest, closer organization of the Christian forces, a more determined desire for self-support in the churches, and greater prominence of Chinese Christian leadership. The reconstruction necessary and possible along these lines

will result in progress in mission work not yet envisioned by the most radical, progressive prophet."

The general tendencies which were present in the missionary movement at the outbreak of the war and which have been given added impetus by it may be summarized as follows:

1. The movement toward unity and cooperation, already manifested in united efforts in educational lines, in union committees of evangelistic work in various centers, and in the Continuation Committee, has been accentuated. The union universities especially have grown, Peking University being the latest to be added to the list. At Nanking three churches and two nationalities have joined their forces in church organization. Everywhere the spirit of unity seems to have been strengthened.

2. The tendency towards more centralization of authority and responsibility, indicated by the organization of executive committees of the various missions and stations and the managing boards of the various educational institutions, has been strengthened.

3. The value of Chinese leadership, already recognized, has become axiomatic and it is taken for granted that no form of Christian work can succeed without it. The new organization of the Anglican Church is an example of this.

4. There is a further advance in the sense of responsibility of the native Church. This is strikingly illustrated in the mission undertaken by it to Yunnan, a project which was planned in the summer of 1918 and begun in the following spring for the evangelization of this interior province by the Chinese Church itself.

5. The increasing cordiality toward Christians as fellow-citizens and as identified with the nation's interests, manifest before the war, has been accentuated. In the wave of popular protest that swept the country in May and June after the Shantung decision was announced, the

students of Christian schools, by associating themselves with the government school students in this whole movement, won recognition for themselves as true patriots, a recognition which hitherto, on account of their studying in foreign schools, had not always been granted to them.

6. There is an increased emphasis on the relation of Christianity to the needs of the nation. Christianity is no longer regarded as hostile to the best interests of the republic. On the other hand, there are many Chinese who despair of any means of salvation for their nation except that offered by Christ. Students who have been away from China in America have remarked upon this new attitude of friendliness and welcome which has appeared during their absence from their country. If the distinction is held clearly between the true functions and respective positions of patriotism and religion, with no confusion or compromise in this regard, this new feeling should be of much value to the work of missions in China.

The acceleration in these tendencies mentioned above, due to the war, is evidenced in the steady growth of the adherents to Christianity. Although the women missionaries continued to increase, in 1915 their number being 3,235, and in 1917, 3,637, the number of men available for missionaries in China did not show the customary increase during the war, the figures in 1915 being 2,103 and in 1917, 2,263. But despite this temporary delay in reenforcements, the Christian Church continued to gain steadily, the baptized communicants in 1915 being 268,650, and in 1917, 312,970, the Christian constituency increasing in the same period from 526,108 to 654,658. There was a correspondingly large increase in the number of Chinese leaders in the work, and the conclusion is inevitable that despite the handicap of the war the growth of the Church has been steady and strong.[1]

[1] See "Chinese Year Book for 1918," Appendix.

On the financial side it should be noted that the great demand for silver during the war brought about a marked change in its value. In 1913 a gold dollar would bring $2.80 in Chinese silver. In 1918 the two were about at par. The effect of such a shift in values upon prospective building and upon current budgets is obvious.

A special problem in the situation created by the war concerns the German missionaries and the stoppage of their work. The German missionaries in China at the beginning of the war numbered 161 men and 95 women, with a constituency of 23,744 baptized Chinese Christians.[1] Of the sincerity and true consecration to the Christian cause of the majority of these missionaries there can be no doubt. On the other hand, there was a movement on foot in 1913 for the use of the German missions and especially of their mission schools for the advancement of the German Fatherland. This in a statement called "A Memorial for the Advancement of German Interests in China," issued by the German Association of Shanghai, a comparison was made between the schools of the Protestant missions of the English and Americans with those of Germany, and a policy was drawn up whereby the German schools would be increased and German influence thereby strengthened. The paper said:

"Only in their outward form should these schools be really mission schools. In their inner organization they should be something between a mission school and another kind of school. . . . These schools would have to stand in a special relation to the mission, as they would be under a special organization with a school inspector, and also because the religious element would be of secondary importance to the national. . . . From a purely religious point of view the standpoint here put forward may seem somewhat questionable, but from our point of view it does not make so much difference.

[1] See A. J. Brown, Foreign Missions Conference report of subcommittee on Missions and Government, January 23, 1918.

"We must put forth our strength to the utmost, maintain a 'school and propaganda policy' on a large scale, and to safeguard for ourselves a part in China's economic development in keeping with our importance and the demands of our future." Signed German Association, Shanghai, April 1918.[1]

The deportation of the Germans altered entirely the situation of German missions in China. Some of the missionaries were exempted but the work as a whole has been brought to a standstill. If it is to be carried forward, it will have to be done by agencies of other lands, at least for the near future.

III. The Probable Effect of the Present Political Situation

There are three political developments due to the war which may all have important effects upon the missionary movement in China. These are related to the changes in China's foreign relations with Japan, America, and the Allies in general.

What effect will Japan's increased power in China have upon missions? We can only forecast the future by a study of her past policy in Korea and her present attitude in Shantung. In April, 1915, a law against teaching religion in the mission schools in Korea was put in operation by the Japanese, the schools being given ten years in which to conform to this rule. Further, the attitude of the Government toward the Christian Church was revealed in the Korea Conspiracy Case in 1912 and in the suppression of the Korean movement for independence that began in March, 1919.

In Shantung one of the first steps of the Japanese Government has been the closing of certain mission schools in Tsingtau.[2] The Japanese Government regards with suspicion any movement apparently controlled and

[1] T. F. Millard "Democracy and the Eastern Question," Appendix B.

[2] A. J. Brown, "A Tenant in Shantung," Asia, September, 1919.

led by foreigners, whose general principles of democracy and individualism do not coincide with the governing principles of the Japanese State.

The hope for the future seems to lie in the strengthening of a more liberal party in Japan, until it can control the more conservative and less democratic forces. As a Japanese Christian pastor stated the situation: "The greatest crisis of Japan's history is impending. Militarism and imperialism have been the great hindrance to the propagation of the Gospel in Japan; missionaries, pastors, and evangelists have been considered by many as the enemies of militarism and imperialism, and consequently of Japan. If these two 'isms' could be destroyed, the way to Christ could be opened for the people of Japan."[5]

The outcome of the war has not adversely affected the influence of individual American missionaries living in China, as the Chinese have felt that, although these Americans have carefully refrained from any unwise participation in Chinese politics, on the whole they are in sympathy with the best interests of the Chinese Republic. When the effect of the Shantung decision upon China's attitude toward America as a whole is considered, we must be on our guard against too positive statements. Foreign missions is inextricably bound up with the foreign relations of the nations which the missionaries represent, and the attitude of the natives is affected by the attitude of these governments toward his own land. Hitherto America has always been regarded by the Chinese as their best and most trusted friend. Those who live and work in China hope that no act of foreign policy, present or future, will mar this traditional friendship and respect.

The same may be said of China's relations to the other Allies, as they are represented in the League of Nations.

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[5] Dr. Ebina, Conference of Federated Missions of Japan, 1918, quoted by J. E. Williams in Foreign Missions Conference Report, 1919.

Many of China's problems can best be solved through such cooperation of the nations as the League is supposed to represent. But as to the first definite application of the principles of the League to China, one of the Chinese delegates at Paris, a product of mission schools and of Christian education in America, said: "I have been much dazed by the inexplicable decision by the 'Big Three' over the Kiaochow question." This attitude may be taken as indicative of the present attitude of the Chinese as a whole toward the Allies, and this feeling will be reflected, in the near future at least, in their attitude toward missionaries from the Allied nations. Furthermore, the whole question of economic development and reconstruction in China, with the delicate subject of foreign financial control during the process, is bound up in China's relations with Japan, America, and the Allies. China will be developed, but will it be in her interests, or in the interests of an economic imperialism of other nations? How deeply will the spirit of Christianity permeate this contribution of the Occident to the Orient? "Will Christianity in China be able to subdue unto itself not only all that is alien to it in the religion and social life of the Chinese, but also all that is hostile to it in the trade and commerce of the West?"[6] "No one close to the facts can doubt the truth of the statement that Western civilization is about to conquer the Orient. The real question is, not whether Western civilization can conquer the Orient, but whether Christianity will conquer Western civilization."[7]

The outcome is yet to be seen. But no doubt as to the future can blind us to the clamant needs of the present, the needs of a people great in history, in population, in potential resources, groping their way unsteadily toward

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[6] E. M. Marrins, "The War's Effect on Missions in China," *The Churchman*, July, 1919.

[7] John L. Childs, "Result of the War on Missionary Work in China," *Millard's Review*, December 14, 1918.

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dimly perceived ideals of democracy and liberty and the life of a more modern age; a people whose need today is for sympathetic support and aid on the part of her sister nations, and whose paramount need is for Christ. And no doubt about the outcome can alter or shake in any way our confidence in the One who first gave the command for the mission campaign throughout the world, who Himself is the chief cornerstone in any structure, individual, national, or international, that we may strive to build.

CHAPTER IX

THE WAR AND THE MISSIONARY OUTLOOK IN JAPAN

Although Japan formally declared war against Germany on August 23, 1914, the Japanese people were slow to realize the fundamental issues of the war and to feel its impact upon their thought and life. With the entry of America into the war, however, it began to come nearer home; but even to the end of the war Japan had no need to resort to rationing; on the contrary, the country experienced an unprecedented commercial and industrial expansion. This was a mixed blessing. The people missed the stern discipline of enforced thrift and heroic giving and the stimulus which comes from devotion to voluntary war relief, shoulder to shoulder with millions of fellow-countrymen. Except for the doubling of the cost of living, with the consequent hardship to wage earners and small salaried men in other than war industries, the nation at large knew nothing of the hardships of the war. There were some generous contributions to war relief funds, but they were made by a small minority, chiefly Christians and well-to-do Japanese who had traveled abroad, or by prominent firms and officials in response to appeals by foreigners. But since the armistice was signed the revolutionary significance of the war has been dawning upon the Japanese people, until now it has been forced home not only to the educated and traveled minority, but even to the man with the hoe.

I. The Effect of the War on the National Life

Speaking, then, of the war in the sense of the world-

wide upheaval which it started and which is still in progress, we may say that the religious and moral situation in Japan has been affected in the following ways:

1. *Progress in Understanding and in Applying Democratic Ideals.*

Powerful liberalizing influences had been incessantly at work in Japan, even before the Great War came. In politics and education and social reform there had been an unbroken line of broad-minded, courageous prophets from the days of Count Itagaki and the other liberals of the seventies, down to the present day. The Christian movement within and Anglo-Saxon influence from without constantly fanned the flame of liberalism. Unfortunately, however, the powers that be discouraged the free discussion and propagation of democratic and liberal ideas. With the fall of the Terauchi cabinet in September, 1918, a new era began. The cabinet's fall was due to many causes, but among them was popular dissatisfaction with its undemocratic, repressive rule at home and its sacrifice of prestige abroad by failing to fall in with the universal democratic movement. The manifest ineffectiveness of its "strong" China policy, its inability to curb the profiteers and keep down the cost of living, and also the recoil of Count Terauchi's interview with Mr. Gregory Mason in *The Outlook*, in which he seemed to betray a lurking sympathy with Germany—all of these hastened its downfall. The significant fact is that the cabinet was overturned by the pressure of public opinion and that public opinion demanded that Mr. Hara, a liberal and a commoner, should be called to form a new cabinet. For the first time Japan has a party cabinet and a commoner at its head.

The rising tide of democracy was due largely to the part taken by the American people in the war and to the speeches of President Wilson. For some years it had been the custom for certain sophisticated Japanese

writers and speakers to refer scornfully to Americans as dollar-worshipers and hypocrites, whose selfish imperialism was thinly veiled by the sending out of missionaries and the bestowing of huge charitable gifts to salve their consciences and hide the heartlessness of their industrial system. On the other hand, the cult of Prussianism, which had been fostered by influential bureaucrats and professors, was deserted by many devotees in dismay when it was seen that Prussianism logically ended in tyranny and in ruin. The sudden falling off in the number of applicants for admission to the military schools in 1918 and 1919 shows what a blow the defeat of the Central Powers gave to militarism in Japan.

The Hara cabinet at once let down some of the bars to free speech, and the country was flooded with the discussion of democracy, social and political reform, and internationalism. The word "democracy" in its English form was transferred bodily into Japanese, and has been blazoned upon the notice boards of countless public meetings and on the title-pages of every prominent magazine. The circulation of the *Chuo Koron,* or *Central Review,* has leaped from a circulation of 11,000 to 55,000 within four years, because Dr. Yoshino, the Christian professor of politics in Tokyo Imperial University, has made it the chief organ of his progressive ideas. Honorable Y. Ozaki, ex-minister of justice, long an admirer of the British Constitution, last year published a bold volume entitled "The Voice of Japanese Democracy," in which he denounces the militarist clan oligarchy and advocates British principles of popular government. More recently a group of liberal publicists and writers—prominent among whom is Professor Fukuda, an earnest Christian in his college days—has formed a society which advocates universal suffrage, the overthrow of bureaucratic autocracy, the abolition of class distinctions, the revision of the revenue system, the public recognition of labor unions, and the reform of colonial administration. These

men are not mere agitators itching for notoriety, but well-known thinkers and leaders.

That all this ferment over democracy is not effervescent is shown by the fact that in March, 1919, the Imperial Diet passed a bill which reduced the property qualification for the franchise from $5.00 to $1.50, in income or property tax paid, and thereby increased the number of voters from about 1,460,000 to 2,860,000. Although these new voters will come chiefly from the conservative country landholders, they will include also a goodly number of professional men hitherto debarred. Another advance is the appointment of a civilian to be governor-general of the leased territory around Port Arthur, the first instance of the kind with the exception of Prince Ito in Korea. Still another evidence of the same tendency, though possibly an unwise one, is the new provision for the election of deans for the colleges of the Imperial University by their fellow-professors, and the proposal to have the president of the university elected by the faculty and alumni. In October, 1919, a former Japanese cabinet minister said to the writer: "Yesterday a friend just arrived from Tokyo told me that the progress of democratic ideas since May, 1919, has been striking. Wealth and titles of nobility are beginning to be contemptuously referred to, and public opinion and the demands of labor are treated by the authorities with amazing respect and consideration."

It is significant that among the leading spirits in the whole liberal movement are a number of Christian professors, publicists, and journalists. The Christian Church, in fact, while jealously maintaining independence of the Government and of all political entanglements, has always supplied a disproportionate share of the leadership and the dynamic for liberalism and reform in modern Japan; and since the armistice it has uttered through the Federation of Churches a strong pronouncement interpreting to the nation the meaning of the war

and pointing out the dangers of democracy when it is separated from Christianity.

The battle between the forces of autocracy and democracy, between reaction and progress, has been joined. It will be fierce and prolonged. The issue will be determined by the events of the next few years. It needs no argument to prove that the Christian movement in both Japan and America should strain every resource to develop the leaders who will keep the democratic movement in Japan from degenerating into formalism on the one hand, or into mob rule on the other, and will make it take shape in a stable structure of free institutions. The excesses to which so-called democracy has degenerated in Russia and other parts of Europe, as well as the municipal corruption and the industrial exploitation which thrive in democratic America, supply weapons for the reactionary forces who are doing their best to hinder the growth of genuine democracy.

2. *Increased Respect for the People of the United States.*

We have already referred briefly to the fluctuation of public opinion in Japan as regards America, but we desire here to emphasize the fact that the events of the war period have resulted in a vastly enhanced respect, tinged with fear, on the part of the Japanese people and Government for the American people and Government. This is the result of a combination of factors, among which are the revelation of America's unsuspected military power, the unity of the people, and their willingness to drop money-making and to sacrifice and fight, when once their deepest convictions are stirred. At the same time the Japanese people still have serious doubts of the genuine altruism of the American people. America's acts toward the Philippines, Mexico, and Panama, and the exclusion legislation touching Chinese and Japanese, furnish some of the grounds for their scepticism. Furthermore, they

fear that when the restraints of war conditions have been removed the vast commercial interests of the United States will again assert themselves, and by fair means or foul crowd Japanese enterprise in China and other parts of Asia to the wall. It is not our purpose here to refute these suspicions. The important point is that the phenomenal prestige which the war has brought to America throughout the Far East imposes upon the American people a heavy responsibility to see that their vast power and influence are exercised in accordance with the lofty principles which they have professed under the spell of the war. Consistent unselfishness and large-mindedness in all our contacts with Japan and China are the only effective answer to the sinister suspicions which we resent. Had the war ended in the defeat of the Allies, the influence of England and America in Japan would have been overshadowed by less wholesome influences, and the growth of Christianity would have been given a serious setback. As it is, the door is wide open for Christian missions and every other good influence from America to bring their full force to bear. At the same time, it is more important than ever before that we do everything in our power to weaken those American political and economic influences playing upon the Orient which savor of Belial and not of God.

3. *A Growing Internationalism Paralleled by an Emphatic and Aroused Nationalism.*

Japan's age-long isolation and her interclan strife have made it difficult for her to appreciate or share the spirit of modern internationalism. Her national cult, Shinto, is incurably nationalistic, and the giving up of Shinto is strenuously opposed by all the conservative influences. Nevertheless, the current of internationalism which has been given so great an impetus by the war has touched Japan also and has stirred the imagination of many of her finer spirits. While the Japanese people have been

politically exclusive, it should be remembered that in religion and intellectual culture they have shown a remarkable catholicity. It would be hard to find another country of equally advanced civilization which has thrown open its doors so widely to foreign faiths and civilizations.

In view of the opposition even in some circles in America to our new international relationships, it is not to be wondered at that the impulse toward internationalism in Japan is accompanied by an even stronger impulse toward nationalistic self-assertion. The recognition of Japan as one of the five great powers, the phenomenal opportunities given by the war for the expansion of her economic and political influence, and the lusty proclamation of a so-called Asiatic Monroe Doctrine by influential Japanese, have all gone to the heads of the people like wine. The militarist and imperialist group, which is still very powerful, has utilized this sentiment to hold out visions of territorial and commercial aggrandizement. The liberals in the lower house of Parliament and in the present cabinet, who represent the civilian group, are gaining the upper hand over the militarists, but it will take time to reverse the policy of a generation and undo the damage in China and Korea. This aggressive nationalism accounts for some of the anti-American agitation which has filled the Japanese press, though of course it has been in part an echo of attacks made upon Japan by American writers and politicians.

The sensitiveness of the Japanese people to the pressure of temperate foreign criticism is a constant factor, helping to check excessive nationalism and to foster the tender plant of international sympathy and cooperation. It is probably true, for example, that the agitation in America over Korean maladministration and over Japanese aggression in Shantung has so strengthened the hands of the Hara cabinet, that, despite the opposition of the reactionaries, it has been able to inaugurate some reforms

in Korea and to adopt a policy of friendly non-interference in Chinese politics. The revocation of the Shantung concessions awarded by the Peace Treaty would probably have meant the fall of the Hara cabinet and the return of the reactionaries to power. On the other hand, the ardent espousal of China's part in the Shantung controversy by American missionaries in China has seemed to the Japanese to be a meddling in politics, and has supplied a sharp weapon to the opponents of Christianity. It is of the utmost importance that criticism of Japan by American Christians should be transparently disinterested, and should be balanced and constructive. It should not only give publicity to abuses, but should conscientiously emphasize all the corrective and progressive influences which are at work. Such a spirit will have loyal allies among the Christians and other liberals of Japan. That the Christian body in Japan has kept its independence—better than the Churches in some other lands—is shown by the outspoken protests of Christian pastors and laymen against the government policy, especially in Korea, but also in China. In view of the stock charge that Christians are unpatriotic, it has required courage to utter such protests.

A cardinal point in the policy of the liberal and Christian elements in America should be to lock arms with the liberal and Christian elements in Japan and China. This does not involve meddling with their domestic affairs, but it does mean an alliance for international justice and good will which transcends all the traditional taboos of race and nation.

Before leaving the subject of nationalistic sentiment, it is pertinent to note that Bushido, which has been the boast of patriotic conservatives, has fallen in public esteem on account of the war. The reason is a strange one; heroic contempt for death, burning patriotism, and self-surrender for king and country have been pronounced by many a Japanese school-teacher and drill-master to be the

immemorial virtues of the Japanese above all other peoples. But the spirit and deeds of Occidental soldiers and civilians during the war have utterly exploded this myth.[1] In so far as this reduces an inflated nationalism it is a gain, but in so far as it weakens the forces in Bushido making for discipline and unselfishness, it is a loss; and Christianity must strive to make good the loss by infusing the iron of knightly self-control and heroic service.

4. *A Fresh Realization of the Need of Something to Reenforce Morality.*

One of the strangest phenomena in modern Japan is the repeated swinging of the pendulum among leaders of thought between the extremes of approving religion and of scoffing at it. The more discerning among them now see clearly that it is absurd to try to build up the top layer of the moral wall by fostering ancestor worship and shrine worship and the Shinto state cult, while for the past forty years the scientific and purely materialistic educational system has been removing the foundation stones of the wall. This does not mean that they are all turning confidently to Christianity to fill the gap. But it does mean that they are ready to consider it on its merits. A professor in one of the conservative nobles' schools in Tokyo and an agent of the Imperial Department of Education are now in America to examine, among other things, the practical effects of Christianity on the character of the people, and the methods of diffusing religion among young people who attend secular

[1] The Hon. Y. Ozaki, late Minister of Justice, scathingly writes:

"*Noblesse oblige* is their [English peers and millionaires] motto, and they are proud to contribute a greater share of blood and treasure to the state than the common people. In this country, on the contrary, peers and millionaires do not merely dislike to have their sons and brothers enlist in the military service, but they even endeavor to conceal their wealth and pay less than the rank and file of the common people! In the face of such a contrast as this, can anybody have the temerity to claim loyalty and patriotism as monopolies of this country?"

schools. Just here is the chief *raison d'être* of Christian schools in Japan. If they all held today the high rank which the Doshisha held in 1890, then the evidence in favor of Christianity as a moral dynamic would be very impressive. But the Christian schools, partly for lack of adequate funds, lost their prestige in the nineties and with it their power to attract the best teachers and pupils. Now they are struggling valiantly to regain lost ground, but at the best it will require a decade.

In the late eighties Christianity was on the crest of the wave in Japan. Scholars and laymen alike heard it gladly. But today, disillusioned and critical but yearning for deliverance, they demand convincing proof that Christianity in Japan and in America can supply the master key to all their problems.

5. *Social Unrest and the Nascent Self-Consciousness of Labor.*

The phenomenal industrial expansion of the war period has accentuated social problems. The number of factories has grown by leaps and bounds until now there are more than 30,000, and the number of factory laborers has doubled since 1914, being now over 2,000,000. Congested and unsanitary tenements and factory lodging-houses, a peril to the health and morals of thousands of country girls and boys who are drawn into the factories, the inhuman conditions of mine laborers, particularly the women, and the ignoring of the safeguards of the factory law under the pressure of war production—all these have aggravated unwholesome social conditions which were causing grave concern even before the war. In 1905 Sidney Webb of London, after visiting Japan, wrote that factory conditions were similar to those which prevailed in England in 1840. Although the Imperial Factory Law was put into effect in September, 1916, it has so many exceptions and has been so loosely administered during the war that it has not effected fundamental reforms.

The above troubles may be called chronic social ailments which have merely been aggravated by the war. Within the last two years there have been symptoms of more acute and virulent disease among the middle and lower strata of the people. The revolution in Russia and the fierce class struggle which followed sent a quiver of alarm to the hearts of Japanese publicists, but they could not believe that similar troubles would ever invade Japan. It was, therefore, with a shock that the nation found some of its larger cities terrorized in August, 1918, by the so-called rice riots. These riots were a spontaneous outbreak by common laborers, and even some so-called outcasts, who suffered from the rapidly rising cost of living, which they felt was due in part to the callousness of the rich to the suffering of the common people and in part to the impotence of the Government and its alliance with big profiteers. Those riots might have been followed by others, for they found sympathy in the hearts of the underpaid middle-class wage earners, especially the clerks, school-teachers, and lower civil servants. The danger, however, was averted by the displacement of the Terauchi cabinet with the liberal Hara cabinet, which appeased popular discontent.

The Hara cabinet soon let it be known that a measure of free speech would be allowed and that labor unions, which for many years had been suppressed, would again be tolerated. The result has been a furore of labor agitation, accompanied by ten times as many strikes as ever before. Small wonder that sober men are alarmed and groping after some remedy for all these ills.

II. Consequent Demands in Missionary Work

We now turn to consider some of the practical bearings on the missionary movement and the Churches of the changes in Japanese thought and life noted above.

1. *More Exacting Requirements of Missionaries.*

The added consciousness of power and ability which

the war has brought to the whole Japanese people has affected the standard of missionary qualifications.

For a decade past the responsible leaders of the Japanese Churches have pleaded for more missionaries, and not entirely in vain. That plea is still being made. But far louder than the demand for added numbers is the request for finer quality. Not that they expect only paragons, but they do beg for a larger proportion of men and women possessing either specialized training and experience or radiant Christian character and self-forgetful willingness to do hard, obscure tasks. Besides regular missionaries, there is need for two sorts of short-term workers: first, for Christian men and women of eminent attainments to spend from a month to a year on special missions, lecturing and conferring and having individual interviews. The visits of such men as George Trumbull Ladd, Charles Cuthbert Hall, Henry C. King, John R. Mott, Raymond Robins, Edward I. Bosworth, Robert E. Speer, and the late Charles R. Henderson have changed the life-currents of thousands of now influential Japanese. Second, for teachers of English in government schools, somewhat like those whom the Young Men's Christian Association has supplied, but men prepared to stay out for three or four years instead of two. The boards might well pay their traveling expenses.

2. *Increased Financial Resources but Continued Need of Money from Abroad.*

The war has enabled the Japanese Government to amass a gold specie reserve of $500,000,000 and to lend hundreds of millions to China and to the European Allies. This large increment of wealth, however, has not yet been widely distributed, and very few Christians have become rich. On the contrary, the majority of the Christians, like other low-salaried people, find their slowly swelling pay envelopes quickly shrunk again by the more than twofold increase in the cost of necessaries since 1914.

The net result is only a moderate gain in the financial power of the Christian body. They give at least as generously as the Christians of America, but it is impossible for them to make the present Churches and other Christian institutions independent of foreign aid and at the same time to expand into the vast and practically untouched industrial suburbs and the rural communities. The agencies of demoralization are aggressive. The influence of Japan for good or ill on the rest of Asia is greater than ever before. If we expect the Christian forces of Japan to overcome the heavy odds against them and Christianize the whole nation, it is only elementary common sense for the Christians of America to give all the money and missionaries that can be wisely utilized. Much of the money from abroad ought to be applied to the training of able Japanese leaders, of whom there is a marked shortage. But the use of gifts and the holding of property should be entrusted more than heretofore to the Japanese. The leading Christian men are able, careful administrators with a high sense of honor.

3. *Rising Educational Standards Demand Better Christian Educational Institutions.*

The last Diet voted $22,000,000 for new colleges and professional schools during the coming decade. To this the Emperor added $5,000,000 and the localities affected are expected to contribute $10,000,000 more. Compared with this great sum and the large annual government appropriations for higher education, the total amount appropriated for all the Christian schools is paltry indeed. At length in 1918 a few mission boards proposed to pledge $70,000 a year for five years to start the urgently needed Christian University in Tokyo, on condition that an equal amount be raised by the promoters in Japan. This is good, but still better would it be to reduce at the start the amount required from Japan and increase the amount to be supplied by the boards. The whole enter-

prise ought to be projected on a generous scale and begun without delay.[2]

It should be noted that the $37,000,000 above mentioned is exclusively for men's colleges. This leaves an extraordinarily wide door of opportunity before the Christian movement to expand its schools and colleges for girls. The steady emergence of Japanese women into public positions of influence adds urgency to such an expansion. It is to be hoped that the Tokyo Woman's Christian University, so auspiciously started last year, will prove to be but the first step in the comprehensive advance of women's education by the united effort of all the boards and Churches.

4. *Increased Attention to Social Service.*

The social unrest and the nascent self-consciousness of labor described above present a great challenge to the missionary movement. Two points in particular should be noted.

First, from early years the movement for bettering the conditions for labor in Japan has in many cases been led by Christian men. It is of the utmost importance that this should be true in even larger measure, so that the labor movement in Japan will not degenerate into a materialistic and atheistic propaganda, like that which has accompanied the labor movement in some parts of Europe.

Secondly, the missionary movement should gladly appropriate money and assign a few workers in order to strengthen existing Christian social agencies and to found new agencies. It should not be thought that the Christian body in Japan is alone in attempting to solve these social problems. Men of the highest character and ability, like Baron Shibusawa, are seriously laboring to bring about

[2] After the above sentences were in proof, the Interchurch World Movement approved the asking of $1,700,000 for the University from the mission boards interested.

reforms in working and living conditions, and they have large sums of money at their disposal. The Government likewise has in its Social Work Bureau a number of men abreast of the latest ideas in social welfare, among whom are several Christians. But while we should look with sympathy and approval on all such efforts, we know that any permanent and radical solution must be based upon Christian principles. The operation of social institutions must be given warmth and sympathy by the touch of Christian brotherliness. It is, therefore, no time for half-hearted measures. A training school for Christian social workers, neighborhood houses, working people's clubs, and medical and legal clinics should be established. The Japanese public is in a mood to be peculiarly impressed by the social application of Christianity. Twenty-five years ago apologetics was in demand, but today men want evidence rather than argument.

5. *Christian Literature More Needed than Before the War.*

Democracy in all its aspects will doubtless continue to be discussed confidently by popular writers, but they will in many cases be blind leaders of the blind, because they do not understand and sympathize with the Christian ideals which underlie any democracy worthy of the name. It remains for Christians to fill the gap. Only Christian Japanese writers, thoroughly at home with both Oriental and Occidental thought, can write in that fashion. Fortunately there is an increasing number of such men and women, and their pens and their counsel ought to be far more liberally drawn upon than at present by literature agencies. The educated people, with the possible exception of students, are more accessible to the written than to the spoken message of Christianity. This is true even of those who live near churches in the cities. It is still more true of the literate country people who often live far from the churches and who have more time

to think than city folk. A new and inviting field for properly adapted literature is to be found among the awakening laboring people, whose minds are bewildered by novel notions about labor unions, individual liberty, and high wages. Women, too, are feeling the stir of new ideas and are groping about for larger freedom.

All these diverse groups need literature which presents the old basic truths of the Kingdom in phrases that grip the attention of men today and make clear their application to the problems of the hour.

Our survey of the moral and religious outlook in Japan has revealed a scene of blended light and shadow. The forces of reaction and demoralization are aggressive, but the forces of liberalism and construction are making steady gains. The people are marvelously open-minded, the Government is hospitable to liberal influences, the Christian body is alive and vigorous, thoughtful men are recognizing the inadequacy of old remedies and are looking expectantly toward Jesus Christ. It is a situation that should challenge the Christians of America to make unprecedented efforts for the Christianization of the Japanese people.

CHAPTER X

THE WAR AND THE MISSIONARY OUTLOOK IN KOREA

Among all the mission fields of the Church there is none that today presents so confused a situation as Korea. The increased emphasis everywhere on democracy, freedom, and self-determination and the almost universal unrest after the war are finding a maximum expression in what was not long ago the quiet, hermit nation of the world.

I. The Political Situation

Thirty years ago the missionary found Korea a little nation quite by herself, differing from China on the one hand and from Japan on the other. She had drunk deeply of Confucian waters and was conservative to a degree. Still in the old teachings of the East she had imbibed much that prepared her for the oncoming of the missionary. God was ruler over all; His voice sounded forth from the sacred books calling men to listen: "Honor thy parents"; "Cease to do ill, learn to do well." The customs and habits, the joys and sorrows of the men and women of the Bible were found to be one with those of her ancient people. Scarcely yet have they learned to know Dante, Shakespeare, Napoleon, while Peter, James, and John have walked with them arm in arm for a quarter of a century. It was indeed a famous victory, this invasion of the Bible. The people of Korea who go to church suggest but a small fraction of those who have read and pondered over its sacred pages.

But thirty long years have passed and much water has

run under Korea's stone bridges. Instead of the backward look toward the ancients, her men now look forward. Old ideas are gone and with them the spirits and dreamlands of antiquity. Unfortunately, however, the full fruitage of the awakening is delayed by the political and social situation. From 669 A. D. till August, 1910, twelve hundred and forty-one years, Korea was an undivided kingdom. Only twice in all that time did her dynasty change, once in 918, and again in 1392, and never did she have any internal wars so great as those of the Roses of England. Scholars and writers lived and flourished, an army of them, when our fathers had only Chaucer. In 1600 an assembly of as brilliant literati as the world has ever seen gathered in Seoul, unconscious that on the other side of this little planet Shakespeare was writing "Hamlet." The Japanese have a deep respect for the literature of this little kingdom and eagerly possess themselves of the works of Korean scholars. This greatness in letters was paralleled by a wonderful skill in porcelain and paper making, in printing, in brass and iron work. The Koreans gave evidence of being a highly gifted people, untouched by the outer world. The suzerainty of China was only a sort of gentlemen's agreement between the Imperial and Royal Houses. The Chinese never thought of interfering with Korea's internal affairs for all these fourteen hundred years.

In 1910 Korea was lost, not by conquest, but by the traitorous action of half a dozen officials who handed over the country to Japan. These men were given liberal pensions and enjoy the spoils today, while the awakened people behold their land in bondage. Still we must speak a word in behalf of Japan. While balance of power ruled the world and Korea was free to coquet with Russia, the Tokyo Government found in a free yet unstable Korea a constant menace to its safety. This was the reason for the prompt and absolute annexation. It was really caused by misgovernment on the part of Korea herself, by her

misguided king and corrupt officials; yet her situation is none the less bitter on that account.

Korea and Japan find it impossible to live as one people, so different are they. Notice a few of their differences. The Japanese are worshipers of the Emperor and count his existence semi-divine. The Koreans laugh at the idea. To them the only ruler who could ever claim divine right of kingship was the defunct Emperor of China. The Koreans, even the lowest classes, are all more or less gentlemen imbued with the great truths of Confucianism, while the lower-class Japanese are as primitive as the naked South Sea Islanders. The Korean guards his person and his womenfolk from the public eye with the most rigid exactitude. The Japanese lack of sensitiveness to personal exposure is to the Korean the limit of indecency. The Korean is a man of the pen, while the Japanese is a warrior. Military officials in Korea have always been rated second-class, while Japan admires beyond measure the clicking spurs and heels of a Hohenzollern. The Japanese is a man who loves infinite detail, while the Korean loathes it. Rules and regulations that require you to prepare in triplicate details that run into rates of half a farthing are as natural to the Japanese as the goose-step is to the German. Such exactness is an abomination to Korea and when its system is put upon her by force it becomes a strait-jacket impossible to endure.

Japan is clean and neat in many ways in which Korea is disorderly; she is also hard-working, while the Korean is a gentleman of leisure. The Japanese is effusive in manner and makes much of ceremony, while the Korean, wholly undemonstrative, misunderstands this and counts it insincerity. The place of the prostitute in Japan is shocking to Korea. When a candidate for Parliament can issue a manifesto as proof of his worth and fitness for office, stating that he is backed up by the lawyers of the town, by the rice merchants, and by the heads of

the prostitutes' guilds, without giving any offense or calling forth any remarks, we can judge of the peculiar view Japan has as to the "strange woman." Korea's view of her is just what ours is or should be.

It will be seen from these illustrations how difficult it is for Korea and Japan to walk together. Korea is China at heart and while Japan got her civilization from China, too, she has been touched but superficially and is still a people from the islands of the sea.

It is perfectly true that Japan has contributed good roads, hygienic benefits, and orderliness; has made, in many cases, the desert to blossom as the rose. Yet she has not begun to win the Korean. Perhaps she never can. It begins to look as though she had an Ireland of nearly 20,000,000 people on her hands—and no Ulster. Today Japan sits upon the safety valve, while the boilers beneath are cracking under the expansive pressure.

II. The Effect on Missionary Opportunity

Under such conditions imagine missionary work! We may sympathize with the Japanese in his fear of Christianity. Christianity's propaganda brings the foreigner into intimate relation with the Korean, with his life, his inner heart, his soul. The missionary is there to comfort, to guide, to help onward and upward. The intimacy thus established is offensive to the Japanese bureaucrat, who rules by the sword, who wants the Korean to be a loyal subject of the Mikado but cannot win him over. Christianity is a link between the Korean and the foreigner such as the Japanese of this type can never hope to forge. The upper officials and Japanese of the better sort accept the situation and are willing in a kindly spirit to make the best of it, hoping that the missionary will aid them in establishing Korean loyalty. The lower officials and the military clique regard Christianity as a nuisance which must be opposed and suppressed. The average Japanese newspaper takes a similar view.

The agitation of a year ago was caused by the weariness and exasperation felt by the Korean at all things Japanese, particularly under the stimulus of the emphasis on democracy and self-determination created by the war. In the forefront of the agitation were many Christians. The result was that ere March passed nearly all the leaders of the Church were locked up. Immediately the prison walls began to echo with singing and the cell became a house of prayer. Judging from results one might say that the prison outside the west gate of Seoul was the greatest revival center in the country, a true theological hall in fact. Many who entered in darkness came out believers in Christ. This tendency only confirmed the belief of the Japanese that Christianity was persistently on the side of the offending Korean. Concluding that persuasion had been of no avail and that all public benefits had been fruitless, they turned to force as a deterrent and used it in every way. Such tactics only hardened the Korean in his determination.

One important result of the agitation in which Christianity is indirectly involved has been a sweeping change of government in Korea, involving much substitution of civil for military authority. It is doubtful, however, whether this will bring much respite. The Koreans will probably become a sullen, dogged nation biding their time. Women as well as men are agitating, noble lords as well as simple folk. The women who thirty years ago were prisoners in their houses, unseen, unless of the very lowest class, are now openly sharing with husband and son the fortunes of the day. Women form the larger proportion of those in the church congregations and remain our hope for the future. Today many are in prison and have been subjected to unspeakable insult at the hands of police and gendarmes. Their courage has been a wonder. Those who face the fury of Japanese punishment are heroes, be they Christian or otherwise.

This agitation seems likely to continue. The very

efforts of the Japanese to instil loyalty to Japan into the mind of the Korean student is only firing his soul with a greater love for his own type of life.

Under such circumstances Christianity's opportunity may be expressed as follows:

1. The thought of independence occupies the Korean's entire mental horizon. Under such conditions it is very difficult to drive home Christian truth. The missionaries have seen years when political ferment crowded the churches, but with very scant spiritual results. The Korean is a man of one idea. If it be a large one, it fully occupies his mind to the exclusion of all else. On the other hand, there is the consciousness that God lives, that He is on the side of right, and that if His people do their part fairly and honestly He will swing the fortunes of the day in their favor. Being without arms and habitually opposed to violence, it is natural for them to appeal in prayer to God. From this angle we may hope for a response on the part of many to the missionary message.

2. The present generation of Koreans, however, are no longer influenced by the old Confucian tenets that prompted their search for Christian truth. Schools, newspapers, and modern books all incline them toward materialism. They are out on an uncharted sea, where the peering eye and the questioning soul supplant the old-fashioned simple faith of a generation ago. They are therefore less responsive to the work of the missionary.

3. The Government, however kind and fair it may be, —and the high officials have always been most kind and courteous—can never view with favor the present Christian propaganda. While they will not forbid it, they can so easily throw out hints and suggestions of advantage, safety, security, and prosperity outside the Christian sphere that many will yield. In fact, during recent years there has been a marked falling off of attendance at church on this account. A very wise Korean made the

remark that his people moved along the lines of least resistance. This is in a large measure true and we can see how a little police pressure can have much to do with the size of the congregation today.

4. The Korean estimate of the foreigner has changed. In old days we were sages in possession of the Book. Today we are but ordinary Westerners, survivors of the Great War. The real rule of the Church has passed from our hands and more and more we recede into the place of quiet counselors. This is really good for the missionary, as it makes his inner worth his only asset.

5. The world has swung on into a new center where, in the thought of many Koreans, Christianity as well as civilization in general is out of date. "Cease to do what the fathers did and strike out into something new. We new ones are the people. Let all old-fogy notions go to the winds; eat, drink, and be merry." There is much of this madness in the air of East Asia today. "Who would think of sitting down and droning over a worn-out hymn in church? Away with it!" Like the miasma of the "flu" this spirit more or less encircles the whole earth, including Korea.

From this brief discussion it will be clear that missionaries in Korea have a great task before them, the outlook being something like what it was in days of trench warfare. A united effort, however, with denominational differences eliminated and denominational unity increased, will with the blessing of God win through and continue the work of grace so richly manifested in past years. May God guide them so that the days of faith and hope and love may not be lost to poor Korea.

CHAPTER XI

THE WAR AND THE MISSIONARY OUTLOOK IN AFRICA

Africa has had a much larger place in relation to the war than is generally realized. In the first place, political relations between the European nations in Africa must be reckoned amongst the important causes leading up to the war. After the entrance of Germany among colonizing powers, by her first acquisition of territory in Southwest Africa in 1885, it became increasingly apparent that German ambitions for an African empire would run counter to the established interests of England and France. While those two nations attempted to make room for her, on the whole with good grace and reasonably cordial welcome, Germany's plans for the acquisition of vast tropical resources, in order to make possible the realization of her dreams of power in Europe, included the purpose of stripping from England her choicest territory and taking possession of Belgian Congo and of a substantial portion of French territory. While these colossal plans did not come to light till Germany felt herself strong enough to proclaim her purpose, there was a tension in the air frequently observed by impartial travelers which pointed to conflict at no distant date. It was the threat of German truculence that led France and Great Britain to settle their conflict of interests by the Entente Cordiale in 1904, which was "made in Africa" in the sense that it grew out of the adjustments of the Morocco affair. Africa has been as much of a powder magazine as the Balkans.

I. Africa's Part in the War

When the war began, some of its earliest, some of its most extended, and some of its bitterest campaigns were fought in Africa. Germany had counted heavily on the alienation of the Mohammedan populations in North Africa from the Allied cause and on the rebellion of the Dutch in South Africa against British rule, in both of which hopes she was disappointed, and cordial cooperation for the most part in both those great sections helped to save the civilization of the world. The participation of the black Africans themselves in the war on the Allied side is no insignificant matter. France is said to have drawn half a million native troops from her African possessions, with many thousands more of laborers. British native troops from both West and East Africa participated in the German East African campaign. The Belgian army which took Tabora in German East Africa was composed almost entirely of natives under white officers. Portuguese native troops took part in the same campaign. One hundred and sixty-seven thousand native transport carriers were used by the British in that campaign, besides stretcher corps, drivers, etc. From South Africa 93,000 natives went forth to the various campaigns and 20,000 of that number went to France as a native labor contingent. No complete record of native participation nor of their sufferings and the disturbance of their lives can be given here. It may be computed from these known facts that the numbers of natives actually engaged in military service will run to more than a million. The great bulk of the German army also which for three years resisted the conquest of German East Africa was composed of native troops.

An enormous amount of suffering was involved. Three immense sections of country, aggregating territory five times the area of the whole German Empire in Europe, have been battle grounds for longer or shorter periods. Even where native tribes were not combatants on one

side or the other their villages were wiped out, their crops confiscated or destroyed, and they were interned in refugee camps by one combatant army or the other. Famine conditions ensued even after actual fighting was over, owing to the necessity of recovering from the wilderness the cultivated lands which it so quickly swallows up. About thirty per cent of the population of the Batanga district of the Kamerun was wiped out. Casualties amongst natives as a result of the war will probably run into the hundreds of thousands. Besides the disturbances in actual war areas, rebellions were stirred up by arbitrary methods of recruiting, as in Portuguese East Africa, or advantage was taken of the existence of an unusual military force to complete the subjugation of a half-subdued tribe, as in the case of the Vakuanyama in Portuguese West Africa.

II. Social and Religious Effects

Everywhere the economic effects of the war have been sharply felt. In the war areas trade practically disappeared. Advanced natives went back to the use of bark cloth and other primitive customs and all sorts of expedients were resorted to by missionaries to supply the place of imported articles unobtainable. In South Africa the tremendous increase in the cost of living has made native wages inadequate to their growing needs. This, added to the increasing scarcity of land and the consequent drift to the labor centers, has made a fertile field for the labor agitator, a newcomer amongst the natives. Agents of the I. W. W. have organized the Industrial Workers of Africa on the Rand. Native strikes have occurred during the war. Industrial unrest has been in marked contrast to the natives' political loyalty. In the most primitive parts of the continent the hard economic conditions have created a feeling of dependence and have made the people more accessible to missionary effort. In the

more settled areas these conditions have resulted in feelings of bitterness toward the white man unfavorable to the missionary message. There has been a resurgence of the Ethiopian movements toward ecclesiastical independence, though these have not reached serious proportions.

The *Literary Digest* recently had a cartoon in which the black man was pictured as Rodin's Thinker. Intended to illustrate the mental attitude of the American Negro, the cartoon well represents the new mental condition produced by the war even in Africa. Several correspondents record their observations of the marked effect on natives of having taken part in a white man's war, not only killing other Africans in defense of a government in which they have no voice, but even shooting down white men. They have had the experience of being needed by the white man in a crisis and being called upon to volunteer for the service. The thousands who have been overseas have had their mental horizon immensely broadened and have come in contact with Europeans whose attitude toward them was one of gratitude and neighborliness.

The African is more or less consciously taking stock of his position. In areas like South Africa he is beginning to feel his need of political power. His demands are becoming articulate and a strong racial consciousness is developing. He is more or less preoccupied with political matters and is not perhaps as susceptible as heretofore to the ordinary appeal of the Gospel. It must find forms of approach and appeal suitable to his new condition. Spiritually, the confusion caused by his rapidly changing social life has been intensified by the war. The old standards and sanctions of animism have proved unequal to the strain of the rapidly developing individualism. The new standards of Christianity have been subjected to a sudden strain. The native mind is in a state of confusion which renders it susceptible to both good and evil influences.

III. Political Effects

The native population is not sufficiently developed to get advantage from the doctrine of self-determination even to the extent of determining what European nation shall have the mandate over them, although Mr. Lloyd George on several occasions expressed his intention of securing for them that right. There is little for them to lose in being handed over from one overlordship to another, for they possessed only the most elementary political privileges under any of the European governments. Such political advantage as they may derive from the war must be in the direction of better government and the securing of larger rights as the result of the awakening of an international conscience.

There can be little doubt that the African will benefit by passing from the control of Germany to that of Great Britain, and probably also to that of France. In the period of adjustment following upon the change from German to French control in the Kamerun such advantage is not immediately apparent. French control, partly owing to anxiety to abandon German severity and partly owing to the lack of competent officials during the stress of the war, has been somewhat lax, and certain unruly elements amongst the natives have been out of hand, so that the French have felt themselves in danger of losing the respect of the mass of the natives. Moreover, the French are probably by habit less sympathetic toward missionary effort than the Germans, but it is at least certain that from the standpoint of native interests the restoration of the colonies to Germany was unthinkable. Without going into details of German administration it is obvious that her policy of building up a great military system for the purpose of establishing an African empire, and her plantation system for exploiting the country's resources, offered little future for the natives except that of serfs, and 13,000,000 people will breathe easier for her absence from Africa.

But it is to the influence of the mandatory system on the government of all the European territories in Africa that we must look for improvement in the natives' political position. The great difficulty with the government of Africa has been the assumption of the right by European nations to partition African peoples amongst themselves and govern them in water-tight compartments, subject to no restraint by the conscience of the rest of the world except when maladministration became so atrocious as to awaken a tardy protest, as in the Congo atrocities. On the old imperialistic system the native populations have been regarded sometimes as a burden which the white man had to assume in order to get the land, sometimes as an asset to be turned to his own profit, but seldom as a responsibility with the aim of developing a native civilization, not solely for the white man's benefit, but because it was fundamentally right and an obligation. The conscience of the Christian world ought by the mandatory system to become the supreme court of African administration.

Conditions differ so much in different parts of Africa's vast area that no one system of government can be laid down for all parts. In some parts of Central Africa the natives are in such primitive and isolated conditions that there had been a year of war before any of them knew there was a war. On the other hand thousands of South African natives have been recruited by voluntary enlistment and have been in France. Other thousands have followed the progress of the war and the peace negotiations in the English newspapers. They are familiar with such expressions as "self-determination," are awake to the new stirrings amongst the nations of the world toward democracy, and have sent their educated leaders overseas in an attempt to get recognition for their aspirations at the Peace Conference. Nowhere in Africa are the native peoples in a condition to set up and maintain a democracy of their own. Not even in South Africa is the native

population fit for a universal exercise of the franchise, but there must be provision for the native to participate according to his capacity in the making of the laws affecting himself, and even the raw native has a good degree of capacity to participate in methods of government of a democratic character, provided they follow the lines of native political organization, as, for example, through the native council. And as fast as he develops in civilization he must be given a civilized man's place in the body politic.

Under the mandatory system there must come a general stabilizing of the conditions of land tenure. The German system was to regard all land not actually under cultivation as belonging to the Crown. Portugal follows the same system. While this system has perhaps wrought no great injustice as yet, it is obviously in the interests of European settlement and on the theory that the native has no rights in the land which the white man is bound to respect. South Africa has during the war been engaged in an experiment of territorial separation which, while it would have improved native tenure, was shipwrecked on the selfishness of the white parliamentary constituencies which refused to permit a fair allotment of land to native areas. The race problem of South Africa is to a large degree the native land problem, and the success of the missionary enterprise is dependent in no small degree upon a right settlement of the land problem. Civilized Christian communities cannot be established where migrations due to uncertain tenure, or extreme poverty due to being crowded off the land, make settled social and economic conditions impossible. Where the aim is the development of a native civilization, as in Egypt, land tenure conditions for natives are generally fair and generous. Where the aim is to make "a white man's country," as in South Africa, it is much more difficult to secure just distribution of land. The matter

demands most careful attention by missionaries and all friends of the natives.

If the system of mandatories is really to be for the benefit of the Africans and not merely a cloak for imperialism, provision must be made for the participation by the native in the development of the country's resources other than as mere peasant laborers. Sugar lands have been cut off from native areas confirmed by treaties in South Africa and native residents driven from them or compelled to remain as laborers, when the people might have developed the plantations themselves if given sufficient inducement and guidance. The day of the capitalistic concession company should pass and give way to government experiments in the development of subject races, like that of the United States in the Philippines. The British Government on the Gold Coast has shown by actual experience that this is possible, by its development of the cocoa industry through encouraging the natives to raise the cocoa on a commercial scale.

The mandatory system offers another opportunity to the Christian conscience of the world to wipe out the liquor traffic in Africa. The war has put an end temporarily to the traffic in the Kamerun and Nigeria. Why should not the psychological moment be seized for making universal the prohibition now obtaining over so large an area of Africa?

IV. Effects of the War on Missions

1. *On Missionary Work.*

In view of the great participation of Africa in the war, it was inevitable that the disturbance of the missionary enterprise should be great. It is cause for great thankfulness that on the whole the work has gone forward as usual, with even some remarkable instances of speedy recovery from its upset condition and some splendid examples of endurance on the part of the native Church. In some districts missionary forces were en-

tirely removed or sadly depleted. In German East Africa the work of British societies was entirely broken up, the missionaries subjected to gross ill-treatment, and the Christian congregations persecuted unmercifully. German missions in Africa have been entirely broken up, with the exception of South Africa where they have continued throughout the war except for a short period when all Germans of military age were interned, including missionaries. Many French missionaries were taken for military service under French law and many British missionaries joined the forces as doctors, chaplains, officers in native contingents, and the like. In the Kamerun during the early weeks of the war the work of the American Presbyterian Mission was practically paralyzed. Schools had to be closed and the people fled in panic to their villages. Normal conditions were soon restored except in the areas of actual fighting, where almost entire reconstruction will be necessary. Property to the value of 95,000 marks at pre-war valuation was lost to that mission by German confiscation and much of it has had to be replaced at from fifty to five hundred per cent advance in cost. The closing of the Basel and German Baptist Missions in North and Central Kamerun has resulted in the loss of one important district, that of Bali, to Islam.

2. *On Missionary Opportunity.*

The chief effect on the missionary opportunity is in the intellectual and social disturbance it has brought to the native mind, as described above. There is created a new psychological atmosphere, which is both hopeful and dangerous.

There are most encouraging signs of a less parochial attitude on the part of white populations and of colonial governments. The war has led to the speeding up of liberal movements—such as larger support of native education, intelligent study of the race problem, the appointment of men to administrative positions who have a

broad-minded interest in the native and who are acceptable to the natives, and the extension of larger rights to civilized natives, which point toward more self-government and a limited franchise in the near future.

Certainly under the influence of the mandatory system we may expect the removal of restrictions against Protestant mission work such as have prevailed in some Portuguese, Spanish, French, and Belgian territories.

3. *On Missionary Method.*

The whole structure of native life is changing and if Christianity is to be effective it must engage itself not only with making converts, but with the whole problem of the readjustment of the life of the African to an industrial and commercial, as contrasted with a pastoral, environment. The missionary must have a social message and a social program. In the country districts there should be efforts to develop the local resources of forest, plantation, home industries, and agriculture, in cooperation with the Government; cooperative organizations; and village improvement. In the industrial centers there should be campaigns for better housing, provision for legal defense when required, and for leisure time occupations, and medical attention and educational opportunity should be made possible all through the Church. In some instances it may be necessary to bring pressure to bear upon the responsible heads of mining and commercial concerns to secure better conditions for the labor recruits who are frequently under their almost absolute control, through the compound system, but careful watching and the stimulation of local public opinion will usually be sufficient.

The native Church has shown itself in the trying circumstances of the war to have the faith and the staying qualities that prove its capacity for a large place in the reconstruction plans of the missionary enterprise. Every effort should be made to inspire the native Church with

the passion for the evangelization of Africa, and world missionary organizations should insist that governments shall not put unnecessary obstacles in the way of the use of the African Christians for the evangelization of the heathen. The development of the native Church involves giving even greater attention than heretofore to the training of native leaders in the ministry and the teaching profession, and it is time for a thorough inquiry concerning the adaptability of present methods to the needs of the people.

All that has been said of the social situation puts new emphasis upon the necessity for industrial training. The native is being brought into competition with representatives of a civilization based on industrial efficiency, and a smattering of literary training cannot qualify him to make for himself even a living.

The war has put new emphasis upon the necessity for cooperation in African missions. Kikuyu has sounded the trumpet of advance in its declaration of purpose not to rest till all the societies in that area shall share one Church and one ministry. There must be greater recognition of the essential oneness of all Churches in Christ, not only theoretically but in the sense of being satisfied to leave Christians who may have been converted in a particular denomination to the shepherding of another denomination if they happen to remove to its district. There must be a resurvey and a more definite attempt than has yet been made to avoid overlapping in the more settled portions of the continent. The disgrace of the race for territory by the political denominations of Europe has sometimes seemed almost equaled by that of the ecclesiastical denominations, with the important difference that great areas are left unevangelized as a result of ecclesiastical rivalry, while the Kingdom's resources are squandered by the duplication of agencies.

Finally, American Christianity must take a much larger part in the evangelization of Africa. It is gener-

ally agreed by authorities that at least a tenfold increase in the number of missionary workers must be made if the present critical opportunity is not to be wasted. Corresponding increase must be made in the financial support of the work. One great American Church has allocated $2,000,000 of money already pledged to its work in Africa for the next five years.

Two methods of enlarging the missionary forces present some peculiar difficulties and need most careful study. The first is the restoration of the German missions. In parts of the Kamerun area it is reported that the missionaries identified themselves so completely with the German forces that it is doubtful whether the natives would welcome them back, but certainly the missionary forces of the German Church must again find scope for their work in Africa. Strange to say, the Negro Church of America finds more difficulty than even our late enemies in gaining admission to a share in the redemption of Africa, the only mission field possible to it. It must be admitted that mistakes due to inexperience and to a racial spirit have contributed to the creation of a prejudice against these workers in many parts of European-ruled Africa, but justice and the interests of the Kingdom require that the Negro Church be encouraged to take its part in saving Africa and that governments be urged to make it possible.

CHAPTER XII

THE WAR AND THE MISSIONARY OUTLOOK IN MOSLEM LANDS[1]

I. The New Situation between Islam and Christianity

No statement can be made regarding Islam at the present day which will not be more or less conjectural. These conjectures will be based on our knowledge of Islam as it is in its principles, which can be fixed pretty surely; and on its local and temporary phenomena, with regard to which we cannot be so sure, or which may, at least, be locally and temporarily very contradictory and perplexing. It follows, then, that such a report as this can be only a basis for future experiment and verification in practical work and should be set forth with that qualification distinctly stated.

1. *The Moslem Situation at Present.*

What, then, is the immediate history of our situation, leading up to it and conditioning it? For over a century the intellectual, moral, economic, and political life of the Moslem peoples has been stimulated from the West through schools of all kinds, through Christian missions, through trade intercourse, through political experience. These stimuli have taken many different forms and have had varying local and temporary success, but they have all tended to the arousing of thought and personality, of

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[1] The several sections in this chapter are from different pens, as indicated in the Table of Contents. Each author is responsible only for the point of view of his own section.

self-consciousness and desires. The process of shaking the Moslem world awake was at first very slow and seemed almost hopeless, but towards the end of the last century it went with geometric progression and no one can say now that that world is not awake. It is not only awake but highly vocal, and the problem now is to catch in the din the voices which have real meaning and are representative. Naturally there have been reactions in intellectual, moral, and political forces from within. The wandering scholar-politician al-Afghani and the Egyptian Mohammed Abdu were in different ways conspicuous factors in this. Abd al-Hamid with his Pan-Islamism was another factor.

To the last associated itself the political propaganda of Germany. The object of that propaganda was to unite in one mass all the peoples of Islam and to use them as a decisive force in the coming European conflict. Apart from it the drift had been rather towards nationalism. The Young Turks had been Turks much more than Moslems; Persia had in its revolution shown itself distinctly Persian, aided in that, no doubt, by its Shi'ite sectarianism; the split of the Arabic-speaking Moslems from their Turkish overlords had been growing more marked. Only in Egypt, most curiously, the movement which called itself nationalistic was much more Moslem than Egyptian. This was in great part caused by opposition to the Christian overlordship of Great Britain. But the endeavor of Pan-Islamism, powerfully backed by the German propaganda, was to stimulate again into political reality the old unified Islam.

We all know how that failed. There were little risings here and there, but their futility demonstrated finally the impossibility of the old Islam. When such risings appear now they are more and more a result of local conditions and an expression of nationalism rather than of Islam. Islam itself, that unique system of a Church-State, is splitting up as a conception into two things, a religion in

the sense of a spiritual idea and entity, and a number of nationalities.

If this development were carried through logically and thoroughly, Islam would assume a form never known before and hardly recognizable to Moslems. Such a development is not, of course, immediately to be looked for, but undoubtedly it has begun; and if nationalism can be encouraged and political, as opposed to spiritual, unity can be discouraged it may effect an entire transformation of the Moslem situation. Two elements in that situation would especially be affected. In the first place the question of Jihad in its purity would vanish, although the name would doubtless be applied to Moslem wars long after their nature had changed. Thus it is of the essence of Jihad that the whole Moslem world is viewed as a unity over against the non-Moslem world. That is, the world is divided into Islam and not-Islam. Between these two, further, there must exist constant warfare, actual or theoretical, until the whole earth becomes Moslem.[2]

Every war, therefore, between a Moslem state and a non-Moslem state is *ipso facto,* without special statement or proclamation, a Jihad. Further, all Moslems and all Moslem states are bound to assist one another, because of their essential unity over against non-Moslems. It is true that this duty is not one incumbent on each individual Moslem *per se* but on the community, and is sufficiently carried out when it is carried out by a sufficient number for the purpose in the case. It may become a duty requiring service *en masse,* and that was the meaning of the so-called "proclamation of Jihad" made by the Ottoman Sultan. It was a statement by him that the situation required that the Moslem world as a whole should rise. But in proportion as the Moslem world breaks up into nationalities this essential unity will van-

[2] See article "Djihad" in the Leyden "Encyclopedia of Islam."

ish and Moslem nationalities may come to war against one another as easily as against non-Moslem nationalities. Religiously, according to canon law, such internecine warfare is a great sin, but it has always more or less existed and from now on will become more and more possible and less and less under theological stigma. Just as, since medieval times at least, no two Christian states have felt that their common Christianity stood in the way of their making war upon one another, so it will be in Islam. This may sound like very sardonic irony but it represents fairly the facts in the case. The process, of course, as indicated above, would of necessity be a gradual one.

In the second place, the status and duties of the Caliph,[3] if any Caliph continues to exist, will also be changed. The Caliph, for Sunnite Islam, is the executive chosen by Moslems to administer Islam in the widest sense in the whole Moslem world. He is a symbol of the unity of that world, a memory of the time when that world was really a single centralized empire with himself as its head, and a pious expectation of a millennial future when that unity will be restored and will extend over the whole earth. In theory the Moslem people is a pure democracy, but it chooses to administer itself by appointing an individual as its executive and by giving him practically absolute powers within the limits of the fundamental law of Islam. If, however, he transgresses these limits he is liable to violent "recall"; the people statedly retain the sacred right of insurrection. But it is to be observed that just as there is no priesthood in Islam and no hierarchy of any kind, so the Caliph never has been a Pope of any kind. He cannot by his word bind the conscience of any Moslem. The Moslems themselves through their agreement decide what is Islam and therefore binding;

[3] See two articles in the New York *Nation*, one, July 16, 1916, on "The Caliphate" and one, Nov. 8, 1917, on "The Arabian Situation."

he can only administer what is thus reached by agreement. It will be seen, then, that the office of Caliph implies a unified administration of the affairs of Islam, that is, of all affairs, religious and secular, affecting Moslems. It is not for him to interpret Islam, at least in any authoritative way; although possibly he might do it as a private scholar for his own edification. That is the right and duty of every Moslem in proportion to his learning and ability; he does it, of course, at the risk of being wrong, but every qualified Moslem applying himself so to interpret will receive a reward from Allah for his labor, even if he is wrong. The Caliph himself for a basis for his administration must apply to such students of theology and law. It follows, then, that no sovereign state can permit its Moslem subjects to profess any kind of allegiance to a Caliph. That would be to surrender its sovereignty and admit an overlordship of the most sweeping kind.

But although the Caliph never has been a spiritual head and although such a conception is alien to the whole structure of Islam, is it possible that, among the multitudinous changes into which Islam is certainly moving, such a transformation may come? With the Ottoman Empire broken up and shrunken to a mere ghost of its former self, as the Papacy has been pictured as the ghost of the Roman Empire sitting by the tombs of the Cæsars, could the Ottoman Sultan remain a symbol of the unity of the Moslem world, and his capital, wherever it might be, the seat of a high court for the solving of questions of Moslem theology and religious law? The question suggests at once the problems which confronted English sovereigns in their dealings with the medieval Papacy and which led to the statute of Premunire and eventually to the English Reformation. Or could the King of the Hijaz with his capital at the sacred center of the Moslem world overcome the handicap of descent from a family, that of Qatada, not specially respected, and so adminis-

ter his tiny realm—the land of Pilgrimage—as to show himself a worthy successor as well as descendant of the Prophet?

These questions are being asked through the whole world of Islam and especially, apparently, among Indian Moslems. The situations and attitudes are different in the different parts of India, with its very diverse Moslem population. Even with that very diversity, however, there seems to be growing up there a strange and new kind of unity. There are Sunnites, Shi'ites, Khojas, neo-Mu'tazilites, etc.—sects which in the older Islam would have been absolutely at variance and some of which would have denied that the others were Moslems at all. For example, the Aga Khan, the hereditary head of the Khojas, the old sect of the Isma'ilians or Assassins of the Crusades, many of whose followers regard him as an incarnation of the Deity, seems to be accepted by Indian Moslems in general as a spokesman for them all and is said to have ambitions of being chosen Caliph. So John of Leyden might have dreamed of being elected Pope! And the neo-Mu'tazilites, professing to represent the arch-heretics of early Islam, seem to be jealous for the unity of the Turkish Empire and the continued Caliphate of the Ottoman Sultan. Again, and probably in connection with this last movement, there seems to be in India a widespread distrust and dislike of the King of the Hijaz. That Arabia is not now a unity as it was in its first revolt against the Turks is certain. The old frictions and jealousies between Hijaz, Hayil, Riyad, Kuweit, etc., have reappeared and that may be an element in the Indian attitude, for the relationship between India and Farther India and the Persian Gulf has been close for many centuries. Indian Moslems, too, have been affected by their environment to a greater degree than even elsewhere. The Indian caste system has modified the otherwise absolute brotherhood of Islam and in the days of Thuggee it was apparently possible for a Shi'ite Moslem to be also

a Thug. This openness to outside influence, producing a curious catholicity, and, with it, a grasping at a shadowy remnant of the external unity of Islam seem to be two plain elements in the situation. But the sources, implications, and probable future of all this are hard to unravel and must be determined by the Indian missionaries.

On another side and under another influence the Moslem world is changing. The split between the Christian powers has helped to clear their ideas upon Christianity. This has brought home to them in yet another way that they must abandon the old absolute division into Islam and Christendom. So-called Christendom—Frankistan, or whatever they called it—and Christianity are evidently two different things. They must ask themselves next, "What, then, is Christianity? Is there actually among these peoples something like what our mystics and saints teach?" It cannot be overemphasized that all spiritual and at the same time intelligent religion in Islam is mystical. So those who have it will begin to look for the same among us.

There is, then, upon them this double effect: they are convinced of the power of Western civilization, and that Christianity is another matter. It is for us to teach them what that other matter is. In this illumination the part taken by Moslems on the Allied side has also been of weight. They know very well that they did not fight for Christianity, though they fought beside Christians; that they did not fight against Moslems as Moslems, but as the enemies of their Raj. How this in the long run will affect the status of Great Britain, for example, as a Christian power is another matter. American missionaries may urge the Government of the United States to take up a specifically Christian position, but they should reflect, also, what the situation would be if considerably more than half of the population of the United States were Moslem.

There are, then, two possible steps for Moslems to take:

they may try out Islam as a spiritual religion; and they may lay it alongside Christianity to compare the two. The first they will do of themselves. There cannot be much doubt that the mysticism of Islam, implicitly in it from the first and gradually becoming explicitly its true religious aspect and form, will vindicate itself in their eyes. Much of the old theologies will go—theologies have always shown themselves capable of turning inside out at need—and the agreement of Islam will remake the old canon law. We need not think that Islam, face to face with the modern world and modern thought, will commit suicide. If left to itself it will simply transform itself and, under the new nationalism, it will probably assume many different forms. That a stage in the transforming process will be a great wave of religious indifference, even flat materialism and atheism, is more than probable. It has already appeared in the young men who are receiving Western education in strictly secular government schools. In them the questions of the value and effect of such strictly secular education is being worked out to a perfectly clear but most appalling conclusion. Such education is an illustration in brief of the effect of Western civilization on the Eastern world when unaccompanied by Western religion—the only thing which keeps our civilization sweet.

But when they have begun to compare Islam, so far as they may have disentangled it from its past, with Christianity as they are coming to know it, how much can we say will be fairly clear to them when they of themselves consider the two as spiritual religions?

a. They have probably learned that Christianity does not prevent a people which professes it and which in great part really holds it, from being good fighters if occasion demands. Moslems, semi-Moslems, and converted Moslems do not have any use for pacifism. Their saints have always been capable of terrible wrath, both in defense of the Faith and in moral issues which appealed

to them, and the darwish fraternities can turn and have turned into militant organizations in a moment. Yet their feeling for Christianity, in spite of the Crusades and later militant Christendom, has been that it is a religion which seeks to make sure of the other world at the expense of this one. Islam, on the other hand, they have held, assures men of both worlds. That position with regard to Christianity is hardly possible now and it may be, further, that the work of the different humanitarian organizations which have followed the Allied armies, such as the Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A., has shown them another side of Christian interest in this world. Perhaps it might be added in this connection that the sentimentalist and the "weakling" in the Rooseveltian sense should never be sent as a missionary to Moslems. They need a man of a strange and contrasted combination—an open-air man of the old-fashioned "muscular Christianity" school, a Calvinist turned mystic, with a liking for metaphysical speculation and discussion, but emphatically a man, to be accepted and respected as a man. He will vindicate Christianity to them from suspicion of priestcraft and other-worldliness.

b. They have learned also that Allah does not, officially, disapprove of Christianity, that it is not in his eyes a human invention or Satanic device for the snaring of mankind, but that its relation to the true Faith is at heart a subject for very careful consideration. The shell of the Moslem mind has been cracked. This is the result of a victory in which, beyond question, official Islam was defeated, and the enormous prestige of Constantinople and the Sultan-Caliph of the Ottoman Turks was destroyed. There, if anywhere, centered Islam as a system. This was, in great part, the result of the labors of Abd al-Hamid and we see it still surviving in the attitude of Indian Moslems, mentioned above. It is characteristic of German politics that this undoubtedly great prestige and even hegemony of the Moslem world was over-

estimated by them. They left out of account, or underestimated, the fundamental rift in Sunnite Islam between the Arabs and the Turks and thus assured the debacle. And Allah, by the victory of the Allies, has now stamped that prestige and hegemony with his disapproval. This must give to all Moslems deep ground for thought. Islam has never been a religion of lost causes. Allah does not chasten the Moslem whom he loves. His hand is immediately upon everything and success means his approval.

It is true that with this are to be taken the complications set forth above: the attitude of Indian Islam towards the Ottoman Sultan and the King of the Hijaz; the question whether the British Empire is specifically Christian; the accepted fact that since the annulling of the Concordat the only religion recognized by France is Islam; the presence of Moslem troops on the Allied side on all fronts; and the support of the Arabs in general and of Mecca especially. With it is to be taken the fact that the present Turkish Government is eager to disavow the Young Turk Committee with its heads and all its works, but that deathbed conversion is viewed by the Arab world with cynical distrust and contempt; although the Indian world which has not known Turkish rule seems willing to accept it. Yet the fact of the official debacle abides and by it the will of Allah has been shown.

c. They probably realize even more than before that they must learn as much as they can of every kind of knowledge, skill, and training from the Christian world; that the Moslem world has been definitely left behind in the race and must put itself to school as did Japan. Formerly Moslem reformers believed that they could go back into their own past and begin from there a development of their own. Their vanity was tickled by the respect paid by the West to the memory of Avicenna, Averroës, and others, and they referred with pride to the ignorant and misleading articles in our encyclopedias and

popular histories on the "Arab civilization," "Arab science," "Arab philosophy," and the like. They have been driven from all that by the shocks first of economic and then of real warfare.

But, again, they used to mark off the subjects on which they were willing to learn from those on which they were not willing to learn. The Franks, they admitted, were a practical people and in practical matters they had done very well. Such things they were willing to learn from them. But in philosophy, and above all in religion, the Moslem peoples had always led the world and could learn nothing from anyone. The impassioned speech to this effect by one Moslem at the Congress of Orientalists held at Algiers will be remembered. He warned off all non-Moslem scholars from any consideration of the criticism or exegesis of the Qur'an. On the Qur'an no Moslem could or would learn anything from a non-Moslem. But in the nature of the case such an obscurantist attitude was bound to vanish and, if there is any weight in the considerations urged above, it is vanishing. Moslems are beginning, with a more open mind than ever before, to compare Islam and Christianity simply as religions and to find links of connection between them.

2. *The Christian Attitude in the Present Situation.*

If these things are so, what should be the Christian attitude? Here there is room for differences of opinion. For different missionaries different elements in that attitude may seem more important. There are certain questions, however, which now, more than ever, need to be considered.

a. Can we convince Moslems that Christianity is a real religion and that Christians know what religion in its essence is? This may sound somewhat startling, but those who have been in intimate contact with devout Moslems have realized how widespread among them is the belief that the peoples of the West are incapable of

real religion, cannot have the Vision. They may be full of good works; may be benevolent and right-hearted; may teach and heal. But real religion is an overwhelming emotion, an ecstasy in which things unspeakable are perceived and the unseen spiritual world is reached. They *know* this with the immediate certainty of the mystic and they doubt greatly that Christians know it. It must be the part, then, of the missionary to convince them as to this, and in the new accessibility caused by the general stirring and opening of hearts of the time, he ought to be able to do so. This need not involve any lowering of his standards as to the necessity of conduct going with creed, and life and work with faith and insight. The Moslem may admit all these in the missionary and yet doubt whether he has attained, and can in his faith attain, to the vision of the Unseen.

b. In close contact with this rises the question, Can our medical and educational missions be real centers of evangelism and of the spiritual life? Teachers and physicians are comparatively common; the divinely illumined and fired evangelist is rare, especially the evangelist who is not merely a sentimental preacher but who, besides his divine certainty, has common sense and humor and a power of rational discussion. There has always been the risk that the teacher in a mission school might be merely a teacher and the physician in the hospital merely a physician, and now with the spread of Western education and medicine in the East the Christian Church has to face the problem of how it can reach the masses by other means. This change, of course, will be slow and will vary enormously in different parts of the East. But the end, however far off, must be that missionary medicine and education will be more or less eleemosynary and so distinguished from medicine as a profession and from the educational system of the State. That is the far-off end, but in the meantime such uses of medicine as Dr. Harrison's expedition to Riyad, where he could never

have gotten except as a physician, will remain, and with such adventurous expeditions and pioneerings will remain the many far-flung oases of physical help in which the Church will always skirmish in advance of the more slowly moving State. In education, too, the local opportunities and needs will vary, but it is already clear that in the mission schools eleemosynary primary education and trustworthy higher education—trustworthy as guided by religion—especially for girls, will continue for long to hold their own against state schools.

But the primary task of the evangelist always remains, and it will become increasingly the method of the missionary. Medicine and education are means only towards that end, and education, if not rightly guided, may put dynamite under all religion. So we come back to our first question, Can the Christian missionary primarily and fully vindicate to the Moslem world his faith as a spiritual, personal religion, apart from the training and knowledge which that world is coming to recognize as belonging to the Western civilization, religious or irreligious?

c. Can we convince Moslems that their democratic unity will not suffer under Christianity—that they can preserve the brotherhood and democracy of Islam while becoming Christians? This, again, may seem a somewhat startling question when we consider the present tendency among us to trace back democracy to "the Christian idea of the divine worth of personality." But we must face the fact that Sunnite Islam is in theory as pure a democracy as the world has ever seen and that in practice the recognition of the tie of brotherhood between all Moslems has gone further than that between Christians since the first Christian century. The early Church rose above all divisions of race, color, or servitude, but the missionary Church has never been able to maintain the like ideal. The Moslem who becomes a Christian discovers that he has also become a "native," if he has not become a "nigger." How this is to be met we may not know, but the

democratic hopes springing up everywhere in the East and the fraternization between the most diverse races which the Allied armies have seen make the problem only the more immediate. Some solution must be found, some vindication of Christian love, unity, and justice—of the universality, we may say, of Christ's life and death.

d. A question even more fundamental than these is, Can we convince Moslems that any religion is worth while? The West is flooding in upon them. By its teaching and demonstration of the reign of physical law in the world it has sapped even their belief in the supremacy of the will of Allah. Everything points to a debacle of spiritual ideas and ideals before the crudest materialism. The materialism, in fact, which Europe is rejecting they are taking up. This has been working for long in insidious forms through Western schools and literature. Now the inherent materialism of war and of economic pressure is bringing it to a head. A similar crisis arose once before in Islam when Greek philosophy and science flooded the Moslem world. Al-Ghazzali describes the situation to us most vividly in his *"Munqidh";* he tells how it affected himself and how he was saved. All his books and his own life as a teacher were devoted to stemming the same tide in others.

Before this the old, calm, assured, unthinking Islam is breaking down. Individual Moslems are taking refuge in the particular strongholds of faith which appeal to them. It may be, with the masses, in crude superstitions; it may be in trust in legalism, in the exact performance of the requirement of the canon law backed by the comfort of old habit; it may be in reverence for their national and religious past, making of religion a form of patriotism; it may be in different forms of mysticism, some fantastic enough and for us verging close on superstition. The background of legalism, also, is often a mystical attitude or explanation, and the patriotic attitude may accompany all the others.

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In some of these tendencies we, as Christians, can have neither lot nor part. But of two, at least, we must take account, for there is nothing in them essentially anti-Christian or non-Christian; they are expressions of universal human yearning and as such form part of every religion.

(1) Can we, first, meet their mystical yearnings? Can we so state, explain, and illustrate the essence of the Christian Verity, both in our doctrine and in our religious attitude and ways, that Moslems will see that it takes the Christian immediately into the presence of God and that it can open for those suitably gifted by God the possibility of the *"charismata"* which the early Church knew and which Moslems still know and call similarly *Karamat?* We must make a more careful study of this emotional religious life; admit its legitimacy, meaning, and value, while guarding against its certain dangers; and not try to turn the more susceptible and highly wrought Oriental into a sober-minded Presbyterian or Episcopalian. These religious phenomena which we associate with the ignorant and unlearned and which we therefore feel should be suppressed and avoided, have always in Islam been possible for the most highly trained theologians. In Islam there has never been anything in them that is repulsive to culture of good taste, of mind, or of morals. An Egyptian convert, since gone to his Lord, a man of high education, once related to the writer how he had, in his Moslem days, such experiences and how his Shaykh in consequence said to him, "Thou art a *Wali* (a Saint)." "Then," he added with a smile, "I was a Saint; now I am a Christian." But the smile was rather a crooked one, for the change and loss had puzzled him. His new environment did not encourage such manifestations. In the careful study of this emotional religious life it will be important to consider to what extent and in what form the *Dhikr* (Zikr) can be transformed into a Christian service for praise and edification. In Islam it is a

closely knit combination of fixed ritual and free emotional expression, and much has been written by Moslems on the relation and mutual subordination of the two. Of all that account would have to be taken. The possibility, meaning, and value of the *Karamat* in the Christian dispensation would have to be studied, and a consistent attitude towards them reached. They come and go with the breathing of the Spirit; cannot be produced at will; can be judged only by their spiritual value, outcome, and fruits. In dealing with them it has never been easy even for Islam to strike a straight path between quenching the Spirit on the one hand and falling into crude superstition on the other. These last days of manifold exaltation have led in Islam to both, and we must be ready in one way or another to meet the issues.

(2) Can Christianity be given to Moslems in such a form as not to estrange them from their historical past? Can it make the change a development for them and not, so far as their history is concerned with its historical figures and sentiments, an unconditioned revolution? An Arab poet has said:

> "Not in vain the nations' gropings, nor by chance the currents flow;
> Error-mazed yet truth-directed, to their certain goal they go."

Can we find a place even for Islam in this divine guidance and place the great names of Islam on the record of the progress of the world? For we can never forget that for the Moslem his religion has been his patriotism and that even now the sharpened and ever-growing feeling of nationalism is always combined in one degree or another with allegiance to Islam and its past.

This problem will be brought to its straitest issue if we ask, "What place shall we find for Mohammed in the memory of the converted Moslems?" For all Moslems he is the Messenger of Allah, the Last, the especially Chosen, with a halo of centuries of reverence around his

head. For very many of them he was the first made of all creatures; for his sake Allah created the worlds; as nearly as could be we have the Arian doctrine of the Person of Christ. Besides that, for all Arabs he is the great Arabian; no other like to him has sprung from their race. For all Arabic speakers he is the greatest artist in the Arabic language; the Qur'an for all whose native tongue is Arabic, even for Christians, is the greatest work in Arabic literature. Face to face with these facts to call him simply the Great Impostor, the False Prophet, is an impossibly crude solution. It is perfectly true that Moslems when they embrace Christianity and turn from their former faith often deal with Mohammed as Dante dealt with his enemies in the "Inferno," but that will not be possible for sober thought and feeling in the long run. It ignores historical fact, human sentiment, and even the slow but steady working of God's providence. In a situation like the present, an evident turning point in history, it is for the Christian Church to recognize the unity of history and to find attitudes and expressions which will safely lead the gropings of nations and men to their certain goal. It may help in this to remember that Islam essentially in its origin and through its theological development has been and is a Christian heresy—though, it may be, a deadly one. Heresies can purge themselves and be reabsorbed into the Church.

II. The Effect of the War on Certain Mohammedan Lands

1. MOHAMMEDANISM IN EGYPT

The entrance of Turkey into the war and its downfall after a prolonged struggle naturally created immense repercussion, owing to the fact that Turkey was one of the few remaining independent Islamic nations and, still more, that its Sultan is reckoned the Caliph, or political suzerain of Islam.[4] The war was not the first warning

[4] The best analogy would be the Emperor in the old Holy

which Britain received that trouble with Turkey would always mean trouble in Egypt. Already in 1906 an awkward boundary dispute with Turkey, known as the Tur-Sinai incident, had made Egyptian Mohammedans look very ugly and had shown clearly what was to be expected whenever England and Turkey should be found on opposite sides. The Italian war in Libya in 1911 and the first Balkan war still further roused the sympathies of Egyptians for their Caliph.

The enthusiasm for the Caliph—and especially a Turkish Caliph—has no doubt been almost entirely created by Mohammedan dislike for Christian overrule; but this does not make that enthusiasm any less real, or, at any rate, any less troublesome. Nevertheless, the fact should be noted. For some time the very claim of Turkey to the Caliphate was unknown in these very lands. For a still longer time it was entirely ignored; or, if discussed, was discussed as an academic question open to grave theoretic objection. Then, as now, it was directly denied by many sections of Moslems. Up to the reign of Abd al-Hamid it was as moribund and devoid of significance as the dodo would be if he happened to exist. That which has galvanized it into life, given it power—not for any fruitful work, but for making mischief—is the dominance of Western Christians over Eastern Mohammedans, and the realization of malcontents in these lands and of ambitious persons in Turkey itself that here they have an enormous asset for their propaganda. The proof of this—if it were needed—is that in lands which like Afghanistan and the Sudan states are, or were, politically contented, there was never the smallest enthusiasm for the Caliphate of Turkey, if it was believed in at all. Belief in it certainly never prevented Mohammed Ali from fighting Turkey tooth and nail; never prevented Arabi Pasha from striving to free Egypt from the lingering traces of

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Roman Empire; the place of the Pope, however, being taken by a Catholic consensus interpreted by Doctors of the Law.

old Turkish dominance; never prevented Turkey from being shamefully and continually flouted in North Africa and even in Arabia, the cradle of Islam.

So when the war came on and Turkey was bidden into the struggle by German and Young Turkish ambitions, the sympathies of all Egyptian Moslems became definitely fixed as anti-Ally. Even the Khedive, Abbas II, became a popular hero, because he threw in his lot with Turkey. No more need be said! The serious thing to remember is, however, not that the *effendi,* or town class, became more difficult than ever—that was expected—but that the way was prepared psychologically for that far more serious thing, the alienation of the *fellaheen,* or country class, who outnumber the former as seven to one. The religious sympathies, prejudices, and loyalties of the *fellaheen* were this time thoroughly stirred. It only remained to touch their pockets, and they were lost to the Allies. And this very end, by bad management and bad luck, was achieved by the Labor Corps and requisitioning questions. Hence the participation of the *fellaheen* class in the anti-British outbreaks of the spring—the one new, regrettable, and disquieting feature.

The defeat of Turkey was at first believed to be impossible. Then, when facts became too strong even for the Egyptians, it was discounted and regarded as irrelevant. Germany would win in the West, and then all would be well. When even this hope failed, the political excitement was not therefore allayed: it had risen far too high for that. Aroused Pan-Islamism will not be wholly dependent on the Caliph question as its *point d'appui;* and so the fact that that question is becoming rather obscure does not lessen the political strain. Turkey has still sympathizers in all Mohammedans. The odium to be expected from her partition and from any anti-Islamic solution of the Constantinople question is too valuable an asset to warrant the open disowning of the Ottoman by the Mohammedan world. Nevertheless

it is probable that his day is now realized as over, and that new combinations must be looked for and worked for. And here comes in the importance of the Arab question in Syria and Palestine.

At first the emergence of Arabia as anti-Turkish, while it raised enthusiasm in Syria, left Egypt perfectly cold. A *ballon d'essai* which was sent up to see how the idea of an Arab Caliphate would be welcomed, flopped feebly to earth again. The reason is obvious: it was believed that the King of the Hijaz was under the thumb of Britain, and that the Caliphate would be a mere creature of British imperialism. Therefore, if more eager and sympathetic looks are now beginning to be turned towards Prince Faisul and an Arab kingdom of Damascus, this is only because Moslems are beginning to think and hope that Prince Faisul intends to act for himself and is capable of causing trouble to all Christian mandatory powers whatever.

In regard to the internal politics of Egypt the war, the avowed aims of the Allies, the Peace Conference, the utterances of President Wilson, have of course given the politicians a chance such as Mustapha Kamil, the nationalist leader of Lord Cromer's time, never had to push for independence with all their might. The Copts have joined in, although the evidence is overwhelming that except in the case of some of the younger spirits of the towns, their participation is insincere, fear-bred. The schoolboys and students have gone mad on politics, and work suffers. There is also in the Nile Valley the usual crop of strikes, without which no self-respecting country is at present complete. There were doubtless many economic grievances that needed to be removed, and it was possible cordially to wish the strikers good luck in this effort to remove them. But it becomes more and more evident that at the back of the economic agitation is revolutionary intrigue, that the men are being exploited by the political clubs.

Such are some of the reactions of the war upon this prosperous but disgruntled land. And the future? Who knows? Much depends on the British commission and its willingness and ability to test all things unsparingly and to escape official leading strings. More still depends upon whether Englishmen show, by the way they act during the coming months, how far they still deserve their long-standing reputation in this land for ability, energy, and honesty.

2. MOHAMMEDANISM IN ARABIA

In discussing the present situation between Islam and Christianity there is one point which is often not sufficiently emphasized, namely, the effect upon Moslem lands of the spirit of international brigandage which has marked world politics in the Near East, especially since 1911. We shall not understand the disappointment and collapse of Moslem hopes unless we realize that long before the war in Europe the Near East suffered gross injustice from the European powers. W. Morgan Shuster wrote in his book, "The Strangling of Persia," that "only the pen of a Macaulay or the brush of a Vereshchagin could adequately portray the rapidly shifting scenes attending the downfall of this ancient nation—scenes in which two powerful and presumably enlightened Christian countries played fast and loose with truth, honor, decency, and law, one, at least, hesitating not even at the most barbarous cruelties to accomplish its political designs and to put Persia beyond hope of self-regeneration." Whatever may have been the lack of tact and diplomacy on the part of Mr. Shuster, we cannot doubt his record of the acts of aggression, deceit, and cruelty committed by Russian agents in Persia since 1909. The Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 was discussed by the Moslem press throughout the world, and the general comment was that the Christian nations were bent on

destroying Islam by political intrigue for the purpose of gain and exploitation.

It is well for us to remember that the Arabs and the Egyptians were discussing the battle of diplomacy for the control of the Near East and commented on its religious significance long before German propaganda and the entrance of Turkey into the war precipitated the downfall of the Caliphate.

There is considerable evidence that the anti-Turkish movement not only in the Hijaz but also in Mesopotamia and Hassa was stimulated by outside influence. Of this the Arabs were not ignorant, and the result has naturally been a reaction. Arabia has never had real unity in its political program, but all the Arabs are devoted to Islam, and when they think their religion is imperiled or interfered with the old frictions and jealousies often disappear. This was the case to a large degree at the time of the Wahabi revolt, and it may occur again. In spite of much that has been said to the contrary, the Arabs hardly trust the British as guardians or overlords of the sacred cities. The Sherif of Mecca would probably have had small following if he and his followers had not been heavily subsidized by the Allies in their war against Turkey. It is the artificial character of the alliance that from the outset proved its danger if not its futility. The setting up of the independent Arabian kingdom of the Hijaz was not so much a case of self-determination as a result of clever diplomacy.

The decision against Turkey, first on the battlefield and later at Paris, has met with disappointment in Arabia. Dr. Paul W. Harrison writes, June 3, 1919, just after a long stay in the interior: "The war is over, and we are settling down. It is too soon to be sure just what we are settling down to. All the local sentiment is anxious, to a degree that is really very surprising, to have Constantinople restored to the Turks. Evidently in their minds the dignity of the Ottoman Empire hangs on it."

The new movement of the Ikhwan is the religious reaction. Their numbers are growing rapidly, and Bin Saoud is encouraging them because no troops are so likely to be efficient as those stirred by fanaticism. "Bin Saoud," writes Dr. Mylrea of Kuweit, "can count on no outside help save the Ikhwan; he has quarreled with the Sheikh of Kuweit, who now sides with the Sherif, and although to a certain extent Bin Rashid has been defeated by Bin Saoud, it is doubtful whether Bin Saoud will gain the Shammar Arabs (Bin Rashid's great tribe) as his followers. Bin Saoud would probably be more popular were he not so aggressively religious. The day has gone by when men will submit to being stoned to death for being lax in prayer, when men will put up with severe punishment because they have been casual, say, in keeping the fast of Ramadan. The writer is assured that the subjects of Bin Saoud are compelled to be religious. The Ikhwan will even shoot a man for smoking, according to popular report; in fact they say that by so doing they save his soul from perdition and he goes direct to the Jenna, whereas Jehannum would most assuredly be his fate did he continue to live on in his sin."[5]

The expulsion of the Turk and the movements in connection with the war have given access to certain parts of Arabia which heretofore were closed. Our missionaries have visited Riyad twice, and resided for a long period at Hofhuf. The fanaticism so characteristic of Jiddah has been controlled or abolished through the war, and at the time of a recent visit it seemed possible that should conditions remain as they were work might be begun by a medical mission and Bible distribution. A Danish missionary has reopened work for his society at Aden and the defeat of the Turks in Yemen will perhaps open the hinterland for missionary touring, as it certainly will for trade and development. Mesopotamia

[5] See *Moslem World*, July, 1919.

since the British occupation has seen enormous changes in the matter of communication and economic development. What the policy of the British Government will be on educational lines is not known. There are rumors to the effect that if the program is followed which was carried on in the Sudan and Nigeria it may lead to a distinct revival of Islam and its strengthening for the time being.

There is one other phase of the situation that deserves attention. The military occupation and the settled government in Mesopotamia are already leading to a closer contact between the Mohammedans of Arabia and of India. Not only have communications been greatly increased but a large army of laborers, clerks, and traders from the Punjab, from South India, and especially from Bombay, are settling all the way from Busrah to Bagdad. The question of immigration will doubtless have its effects on missions, and also on the future character of Islam in the mixture of races. British occupation will also mean greater facilities for pilgrimage to Kerbela and Nejf, and therefore a close linking up with Persian Mohammedans.

3. MOHAMMEDANISM IN INDIA

The present situation in India as regards Islam is conditioned by a variety of movements, political, social, and religious, which came to a head in the Great War. From 1907 to 1910 Indian Moslems were quiet and trustful. They were pleased with the partition of Bengal and with the promise of communal representation. From 1911 to 1912 they were less quiet and inclined to be suspicious. It was the period of the Italo-Turkish War, the re-partition of Bengal, and the Balkan War. With the Turkish recovery of Adrianople in 1913 there was better feeling. Then came the war in 1914 in which Turkey was arrayed against Britain. The force of this antagonism, however, was to some extent broken by the fact that, if Turkey

was on the side of the Central Powers, the Arabs were on the side of the Allies. Of the 300,000 combatants who went from the Punjab, a fair proportion were Mohammedans, and doubtless they were comforted by the thought that since Mohammedans were fighting on both sides it was in no real sense a religious war.

The feeling among Indian Moslems at the close of the war may be tentatively expressed in some such way as this. There was, first of all, a disheartening sense of a further decline in the prestige of Islam, at least as politically organized. Turkey had collapsed and Persia was in a chaotic condition. This was followed by the foolish and compromising effort of the young Amir of Afghanistan in his attempt to invade India. If independent Moslem states vanish from the earth, there may still remain a new and more spiritual type of Islam, delivered as it would be from the incubus of political corruption and inefficiency due to its connection with Moslem states. We may recall that Hebrew prophecy reached its greatest heights during the Babylonian captivity.

There was, secondly, the hope that Great Britain would save as much as possible of the Turkish power in view of the large number of Indian Mohammedans who had fought on the side of the Allies. A Turkish delegation actually visited Paris with this in mind, but received no encouragement from the Peace Conference. This hope being disappointed, there is finally a state of groping and uncertainty among Indian Moslems, some making common cause with the Hindu Nationalists, others siding with the Government of India, and all being in a state of bewilderment.

The result of this is that Indian Mohammedans are now especially open to wise and tactful approach. The experience of Rev. Howard Walter and Professor Siraj ud Din in the investigation of Indian Sufism indicates that there is a large body of Indian Mohammedans holding mystical doctrines which make them especially open

to a sympathetic Christian approach. Mohammedans like to talk over things with Christians who are large-hearted and kindly. They are making comparison, as perhaps never before, between the Bible and the Qur'an, between Jesus and Mohammed.[6] India has received in various ways an unusual preparation for a more liberal and open attitude toward the religion of Jesus Christ. The Aligarh College, founded by Sir Saiyed Ahmad, has been a nursery of liberalism, the tenets of the founder approximating to the Mu'tazilite doctrines. The Ahmadiya sect, founded by Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, represents a disintegrating tendency. Very many Mohammedan youths have read in mission schools and colleges. Indian Moslems have also been profoundly affected by their Hindu environment. The Aga Khan is the head at the same time of a Mohammedan sect, the Khojas, and of a Hindu sect, the Shamsis. Many Mohammedan shrines are frequented by Hindus. Between Moslem saint worship and Hindu saint worship there is practically no difference. The late Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian posed not only as the promised Messiah of the Christians and Mohammedans, but also as the promised Avatar of the Hindus. As a result of all these influences, partly liberalizing and partly disintegrating in their tendency, Indian Islam is in unstable equilibrium and is ripe for aggressive Christian evangelism of a wise and sympathetic type.

4. MOHAMMEDANISM IN MALAYSIA

With the exception perhaps of China, no Mohammedan country in the world has been more remote from the activities and influences of the war than Malaysia. Moreover, the vast majority of the Moslems in Malaysia are living under the rule of Holland, and were therefore neutrals. Of the 37,000,000 Moslems of Malaysia, only

[6] See, for example, the pamphlet written by a Mohammedan inquirer, reported by Dr. E. M. Wherry in the *Moslem World*, July, 1919.

2,000,000 are in the British area, and of the remaining 35,000,000, no less than 30,000,000 are on the one island of Java. It will perhaps be best to deal with these British and Dutch areas separately.

a. *The British Area.*

The great center of Mohammedan propaganda in Malaysia is the city of Singapore. This is partly accounted for by the geographical location of this important seaport and partly by the fact that the Malays of the Peninsula and of the adjacent coast of Sumatra have always been the most aggressive of all the Malayan races in propagating their religion. Penang, a seaport 350 miles north of Singapore, is probably second in importance to Singapore as a center of Moslem influence. It should be noted that in these two centers of population the Mohammedans are completely outnumbered by the Chinese. Even on the Malay Peninsula the Chinese far outnumber the Malays in all the towns, and it is only in the country districts that the Mohammedans are in the majority. This distribution of the population has made it very much easier to control the Mohammedans in the British area than it was in the Dutch area even before the war.

All through the war there never was the slightest doubt as to the loyalty of the Malays to their British rulers and advisers. In an Indian Mohammedan regiment, stationed at Singapore, there was a mutiny in February, 1915, which however was speedily put down by the British regular troops and volunteers, assisted by the Sultan of Johore's Malay troops. Those mutineers who concealed themselves in the jungle were hunted down by Malays and Dayaks, who were brought over from North Borneo for that purpose.

The inquiry with reference to the cause of the mutiny revealed the fact that a Gujerati merchant from Bombay had incited the men of the Indian regiment to mutiny,

by promising to get the Turkish Government to send a warship to Singapore to cooperate with mutineers. This man actually wrote a letter to the Turkish consul at Rangoon, asking him to send a warship to capture the city of Singapore, and promising that the Mohammedans would rise against the British. This letter of course fell into the hands of the censor, and led to the conviction and execution of the Gujerati man. The mutiny was undoubtedly the work of a few agitators, and only a part of the regiment was affected. At the time of the mutiny there was considerable excitement and anxiety in the country districts on the Malay Peninsula, where a few scattered Europeans were living in very isolated positions surrounded by large numbers of Mohammedan Malays. It is probable that there were a few disloyal Indians here and there, but there was never any question as to the loyalty of the Malays, who for hundreds of years have prided themselves that no Malay was ever a rebel against his rulers.

The prosperity of all the Malay States on the Malay Peninsula since they came under British protection and tutelage has been so marked, and the security of life and property at the present time is such a contrast to the conditions which existed when the Malay rulers did as they pleased, that the common people are undoubtedly well satisfied with the rule of the British. Nevertheless there are no doubt a few ardent Mohammedans who chafe under the authority of a Christian government, and look forward to the day when Islam shall be supreme. In the Malay newspapers one often comes upon some expression indicating the intense interest which is felt in the Far East in the Ottoman Empire, and the firm belief they have (or had before the war) in the might and invincibility of Turkey, which they used to believe was one of the great powers of the world.

The defeat of Turkey in the Balkan War in 1912 and 1913 was a severe shock to the leading spirits among the

Malay people at that time, and the complete collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the Great War will probably have a still more marked effect in destroying their confidence in the Sultan of Turkey as the hope of Islam in a military sense. The British Government printed during the war, and posted broadcast on the Peninsula, large posters in the Malay language to inform the Malays of the divisions in the Turkish Empire, and of the fact that the Arabs were fighting against the Turks. That the Mohammedans in the Ottoman Empire should be fighting one another made a great impression upon the Malays. Subsequently the Malays themselves put up posters—no doubt with the consent of the British Government—stating that the old regime in Turkey was out of date, and urging the Malays to side with the new government.

In considering the Mohammedan situation in Singapore it should be remembered that the Malays of the Peninsula get their political ideas chiefly from Egypt. Newspapers printed in Egypt are the principal source of information as to the affairs of the Moslem world which reaches the Malays. In Penang and the northern part of the Peninsula, on the other hand, Indian influences are much stronger, and Mohammedan newspapers from India would naturally be read to a much greater extent. The *Islamic Review,* published in London in the English language, is widely read by English-speaking Moslems in Malaysia. Thus through the newspapers from other lands the Malays are kept in touch more or less with the current of thought in the Mohammedan world.

b. *The Dutch Area.*

In the Netherlands Indies the Pan-Islamic movement had been much more in evidence long before the war than it ever had been in the British area. The principal reason for this was probably the fact that the native people have never been so contented under Dutch rule as

those in the Malay Peninsula and North Borneo have been under British rule. In all parts of the Archipelago the natives have always greatly resented the poll tax and the forced labor on the roads which are exacted by the Dutch. Moreover, the attitude of the Dutch towards the natives has never been as conciliatory as that of the British. The Dutch officials realize the inadequacy of their military force in the event of a general uprising, and seem to think that it is necessary to keep the people in subjection. Their native troops are mostly Christians from Amboina. Hurgronje's book *"Nederland en de Islam"* indicates that he and other government officials have been keeping a very close watch on the Mohammedan question in its relation to the colonial government. During the war there has been a serious revolt against the Dutch Government at Djambi, on the east coast of Sumatra, which, however, appears to have been put down without much difficulty.

In former years the Dutch Government was decidedly opposed to the work of Christian missions among the Mohammedans, but recently a great change has taken place in this respect, and the present Governor-General is strongly in favor of the efforts which are being made to win the Moslems, especially along the lines of medical mission work.

In considering the effect of the war in the Dutch Indies, it must not be forgotten that a very strong pro-German propaganda was carried on in the Dutch colonial papers all through the war. Up to the last the pro-Germans refused to admit that Germany was beaten. This attitude was probably reflected to some extent in the Malay and Javanese newspapers, and may have encouraged the natives to hope for the ultimate triumph of Germany and Turkey. The confidence of the Malay Mohammedans in the Ottoman Empire, which exists in the Dutch area as it does in the British, may thus have been bolstered up for a while. Nevertheless Dr. Gunning, the Dutch Mis-

sion Secretary, on his return from Java eight months ago, declared that the opportunity for work among Mohammedans in the Dutch Indies was never more favorable than at that time. This would seem to indicate that the Pan-Islamic movement is practically dead in the Dutch colonies. The hindrances to the annual exodus of Javanese to Mecca for the pilgrimage during a period of five years have probably resulted in a considerable diminution in the number of active propagators of the Mohammedan religion. Dr. Gunning's opinion that the present is the most favorable opportunity the Church has ever had for work among the Mohammedans of the Netherlands Indies should encourage the mission boards to undertake a more definite and extensive campaign, especially along the lines of medical work and the dissemination of good wholesome literature.

5. MOHAMMEDANISM IN CHINA

In the article on China in "The Encyclopedia of Islam" Professor Hartmann sums up what is known regarding the subject, basing his statistics largely on the estimates made by Broomhall. He speaks of two chief sects among Chinese Moslems, and says that they do not recognize the Caliphate in Turkey nor the Sherif of Mecca as having special authority. Nevertheless, Mr. Ogilvie and the writer found in a tour in 1917, while visiting Moslems in Honan Province, Peking, Hankow, and Nanking, that there were distinct evidences of Turkish-German propaganda. Cheap colored portraits of Enver Pasha were discovered in the waiting-rooms of some of the mosques, and a keen interest regarding the effect of the war on the future of the Ottoman Empire was discernible. At Peking a striking document in this connection was seen, a letter signed by the leading Mohammedans and addressed to President Wilson in the shape of a friendly petition. After reciting the effects of the war on economic conditions in China, it attributed

its cause to the pride of the Kaiser and the folly of the Sultan of Turkey. These two men were regarded as the leaders of the Central Powers and the others concerned were designated as mere followers.

According to Hartmann[7] Enver Pasha was sent to China by Abd al-Hamid in 1900 to carry on propaganda with a view to the recognition of the Caliph. This failed. Afterwards an important *ahong,* named Wang Kuan, visited Constantinople. The result of his visit was the sending of two Turkish teachers to Peking, where they established a school in 1907. They also traveled about the country, but the Chinese Government did not countenance this Turkish intrigue.

Generally speaking, the war was too distant to affect Chinese Islam. There were, however, attempts at a revival of Mohammedanism in China which may have been stimulated by Western influences, and which coincided with the outbreak of the war. A magazine was started in Peking of which the first issue was also the last. Another had a longer existence and was published at Yunnan-fu. The articles in this magazine emphasized the sad condition of Islam in China and its critical future. One of its leading editorials is summarized in the *Moslem World* for January, 1919, as follows: Learning is decadent; the religion of Islam is misunderstood; the mullahs do not fulfil their duty; Moslems are degraded and occupied with outward forms; Christianity gains prestige and overrides Islam; while the last reason given is that the economic condition of the Moslems is daily becoming more straitened.

A more hopeful feature of the situation is the decided revival of Christian missionary interest in the Moslems of China. The China Continuation Committee appointed a special committee on work for Moslems in the summer of 1917, including Moslem converts as members. This

[7] Page 854.

committee has undertaken a thorough survey of the field, arranged for special conferences on the subject, published a survey of Mohammedan literature in Chinese and Arabic, and is now preparing a series of tracts and books specially suited for Mohammedans. The British and Foreign Bible Society has published a bilingual edition of St. Matthew, to be followed by St. John, and it proposes to publish the Arabic-Chinese Qur'an text with Christian comment. A primer on Islam and the spiritual needs of Mohammedans in China has been prepared and published in the Chinese Church. The secretary of work for Moslems issues a bulletin which is sent out to over 500 missionaries scattered throughout the provinces. Apart from the work of the Continuation Committee, Mr. Isaac Mason writes (July 3, 1919) that he has prepared and is publishing a Chinese edition of "Sweet First-Fruits" and "Christ in Islam" and a "Life of Mohammed" in Wenli.

Attention should be called to the report in the *Chinese Recorder* for October, 1917, of findings at the missionary conference held during the summer of 1917 and attended by a total of nearly 2,000 missionaries. The general keynote that underlies the resolutions adopted is "that Chinese Moslems are more accessible to Christian work and workers than their coreligionists in any other land, and yet that they have been almost wholly neglected."

6. MOHAMMEDANISM IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AFRICA

Central Africa is along the present-day frontier and line of advance of Islam.

Owing to the presence on the east coast about Mombasa, past Dar-es-Salaam and on further south, of Arabian and other traders, practically all of them Mohammedans, Islam has for decades been fairly strong there and inland to the eastern shores of most of the great lakes, Victoria Nyanza, Tanganyika, Nyasa, and the rest.

Whatever may have been the hope or purpose of any of the Mohammedans to gain political control or advantage for any Islamic ruler, the remoteness of this territory from a Mohammedan state and the firm establishing of European control have prevented any aggressive political propaganda.

Germany had prepared the way for the calling of a Jihad in the war she was preparing for and hoped that all Mohammedans in East Africa would join against Great Britain in the war. There was total failure of the call when it did come. Mohammedan troops on each side fought other Mohammedans in the campaigns in East Africa as elsewhere in the war.

Chaplains and missionaries who had opportunity to observe the native troops in East Africa and in Kamerun testify to the very great activity and the success in making converts, of the Mohammedan troops in both campaigns. Mohammedan propaganda is not a matter of Sunday or other holy-day activity and is not centered in a school, mosque, or any other building. The Mohammedan's religion affects his entire, everyday life, and the abundant opportunities of daily contact with others are fully used by the individual Mohammedan to propagate his faith.

These observers bear strong testimony to the zeal and aggression of these propagandists in camp, on the march, and in every place and circumstance. They seemed willing and ready to go to almost any trouble to make converts, by distribution of tracts, by explanation of their habits, their prayers, and by exposition of the teachings and descriptions of the future promised by Islam. The Belgian Congo tribes will be affected by this, inasmuch as native troops and porters, or carriers, recruited from those tribes were brought into contact with these smart, abler, and honored troops in the East African campaign. The number of converts or natives impressed cannot be given with any accuracy, but probably it was between ten and twenty thousand. These were not a solid group of

population, but representatives recruited from the midst of hundreds of thousands of raw pagans.

Christianity as a counter-propaganda in these campaigns was conspicuous by its absence, except in a few centers of military operation where the Y. M. C. A. had huts, and except for the work of a few individuals. None of the informants of the writer could tell of any Christian evangelism being carried on among the troops generally by whites or natives. Certainly the Mohammedans are a rebuke to us in this respect.

Several things about the Mohammedan give him an impressive and winning attitude before raw pagans: the air of superiority to non-Moslems which he assumes; the note of positiveness with which he speaks of his religion; his evident devotedness to the observance of his religion in regular prayer, in the things he does not eat, and in matters of dress; and the greater material prosperity he almost invariably enjoys above the other people. The conditions of a pagan's life which make him particularly susceptible to Mohammedan propaganda are that he lives in a realm of uncertainty and acknowledged ignorance regarding the spirit world; he is naturally greatly impressed by evidence of power and superiority in another; and he has but few possessions but is covetous for more, and hopes the new faith will aid him in this respect.

When it comes to the African's accepting the Mohammedan faith he finds that it requires no change of heart; that almost no practices dear to his heart need be given up, except alcohol in some cases; that polygamy and concubinage are confirmed to him; that the morality of aid to friends but opportunities to despoil outsiders is practically what he has been used to; and that a future most attractive to the unregenerate heart is promised him.

Now that the war is over, there is every reason to expect a continuation of aggressive propaganda by the Mohammedans, carried now in the paths of trade. Advance scouts have already appeared along the upper

Congo River. The warning voiced in these past years of an aggressive advance of Islam pushing down into Central Africa is seen today to have been timely. Christianity should completely occupy all Central Africa at once with schools, hospitals, and evangelism, and see that the trade of the country is in the hands of Christians, or at least of non-Moslems, else a decade hence it will find the task increased in difficulty many fold.

In South Africa the Mohammedans number only some 45,000 and have come from different countries, the majority probably from Malaysia. This diversity of origin militates against a close union and a strong group-consciousness on the part of the Mohammedans of this section. Little or nothing of a nationalist tendency has been observed among them.

They are not active propagandists among the native peoples of South Africa, but are constantly gaining converts, occasionally from among the whites but principally from the colored peoples in the centers of population throughout the subcontinent, notably Cape Town, Johannesburg, and the East Coast ports. The conditions arising from the war seem to have made little difference in their activities. While in South Africa it might be said that there is as yet only a scattering of Mohammedans, their presence, aggression, and menace need to be taken seriously into account. A very wise, sympathetic, and positive Christian approach should be made to them.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MISSIONARY OUTLOOK IN LATIN AMERICA IN THE LIGHT OF THE WAR

While Latin America saw no fighting and sent no organized troops to the front, yet she was very deeply affected by the war. That effect was felt even more promptly than in the United States, because of the very close economic and spiritual relations which the Latin American countries have always maintained with Europe.

I. Economic Changes

Economic changes were the first to be felt after the war began. Latin America, with the exception of Mexico, Cuba, and Porto Rico and parts of Central America, had largely depended upon European capital for its development. England had invested in Argentina alone some £500,000,000. Railroads, port works, street railways, mines, telephones, and extensive land projects were owned by Europeans. Latin America had been selling her enormous resources to the foreigner and living in ease on the proceeds, with no thought that in this modern world of science and commerce and wealth such conditions could ever change.

When the European war commenced, this order of things was suddenly altered. Countries which were accustomed not only to borrow extra funds but to receive money for their raw materials from the foreigner found both processes stopped, because the European kept both his capital and his ships at home. For the same reason

that foreign money was unavailable, foreign goods and foreign labor were unobtainable.

In an endeavor to extricate herself from this terrible situation, Latin America did two things which are making a profound and permanent change in her life. The first was to turn to the United States for aid. This Government, answering such an appeal, called the first Pan-American Financial Conference, which met in Washington in May, 1915. The ministers of finance and prominent bankers of practically every one of the twenty southern countries, as well as the leading financiers of the United States, attended the conference. There was established the International High Commission, a composite body with official representatives from each American republic, dealing with a wide range of financial and commercial matters.

At the beginning of the war there was not one North American bank operating in South America and not a North American steamship line maintaining passenger service between the two continents. Today there are twenty-two banks having regularly established branches there. Several North American passenger lines are already established and before this is in print this number will be substantially increased. The trip from New York to Valparaiso before the war generally required five weeks. Now big passenger steamers make the trip through the Panama Canal in eighteen days. The trip from New York to Rio de Janeiro on the fastest boats has required seventeen days and to Buenos Aires twenty-three days. The United States Shipping Board has announced three fast steamers soon to be put into service which will make the trip to these cities in ten and fourteen days respectively. One-third of all the tonnage acquired by the Shipping Board is to be assigned to Latin American trade.

The total value of the trade conducted between the United States and the twenty other American republics

for the fiscal year of 1917-18 showed the enormous increase of nearly $1,000,000,000 over the 1913-14 figures. In other words, the United States' exports to, and imports from, Latin America grew from $747,000,000 four years ago to $1,743,000,000 for 1917-18. The official records tell the story that nothing equal to this trade expansion has heretofore been known in the history of the world.

Latin America, besides endeavoring to arrange for new credits and supplies in the United States, did a second thing which is destined to have a very large effect on all her life. She began to make a most determined effort to develop her own resources and to manufacture her own goods.

This movement was most notable in Brazil, the one big country in South America that actually declared war. The Federal Government took up systematically the whole question of increasing agricultural products and cattle raising and the manufacturing of goods formerly imported. Previously her export had been largely coffee, with the proceeds of which she had bought many staples which could easily have been raised at home. In the new effort toward development a North American missionary was called upon to help in planning a corn exhibit like those held in the United States, and several thousand Japanese colonists were brought in to teach the people to grow rice cheaply. The methods of producing rubber are being reformed. The coal mines in the south are being developed. An official campaign around the world is being made to promote the sale of Brazilian tea, *maté*. Manufacturing has grown to an astounding extent and foreign-made clothing is being almost replaced by native products.

The demand from the warring nations for beef and wheat, and the high prices paid, caused a great increase in their production. Argentina has now become the leader of the world in the exportation of beef, surpassing the United States and Australia. She has also come to oc-

cupy first place in the export of wool and third place in the export of wheat. She has begun to use native petroleum and firewood, to search for her own coal deposits, and to exploit her own forests, since denied these necessities by Europe.

Chile has learned her lesson as did Brazil—not to depend entirely on one product for her national commercial existence. Heretofore about eighty-five per cent of her national revenue had been derived from an export tax on nitrate, but during the war taxation was distributed in a more scientific way, including a land tax which Chile had never had before. She has greatly increased the number of her factories and now gets practically all of her coal from her own mines. Peru also has made a splendid endeavor to supply her own needs. She has stimulated greatly her production of sugar and cotton, the high price of these articles during the war having brought great prosperity to producers of these articles.

The smaller countries in the Caribbean have been less able to develop their own resources and as a rule have suffered greatly economically. Cuba is a marked exception. That country's foreign commerce has been multiplied by three during the war, on account of her giving herself almost entirely, backed by American capital, to the production of sugar. Cuba now produces about one-quarter of the world's supply of sugar. Her foreign commerce in 1918 amounted to $718,000,000, almost equal to that of China.

A third change in economic conditions during the war has been the development of the labor movement. Labor in these countries in the past has had little opportunity to assert itself. The formation of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in 1918, which is fostered by the American Federation of Labor, has served to organize labor in several Latin American countries. Two Pan-American conferences on labor have been held, resulting in an understanding between workmen of different coun-

tries and helping them to study more closely the economic, social, and political improvement of the laboring classes. The Mexican-American division has worked strenuously against intervention in Mexico and undoubtedly has had a large effect. Labor disturbances have occurred all over Latin America during the last two years. Just how far these have been the results of the efforts of foreign agitators and how far due to the growing spirit of independence among the workers themselves, it is difficult to say. Socialistic and labor representatives are found exercising large influence at the present time in the national congresses of Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Porto Rico, Mexico, and Cuba.

Finally, in discussing economic changes in Latin America during the war, there must be mentioned the attention commanded from the rest of the world by these nations because of their enormous resources. Careful students are now regarding Latin America as the most promising field for furnishing the three great demands of the world today: food, room for overcrowded populations, and a market for surplus goods and capital. Beginning at the Rio Grande and stretching down through Mexico, Central America, and through the rich fields of South America to the Straits of Magellan, is the largest area of undeveloped fertile land in the world. The entire population of the globe could find a place here and be only one-third as crowded as Porto Rico. Argentina, far more capable than New York of sustaining a dense population, would have 200,000,000 people instead of her present 8,000,000, if it were as densely populated as that state. This is why capitalists, manufacturers, steamship directors, food economists, and political leaders in North America, Europe, and even Japan, are so intently fixing their attention on these fallow lands.

As to the activities of the United States for developing closer contacts with Latin America, reference has already been made to the Pan-American Financial Congress and

the activities growing out of it, as also to the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The first Pan-American Scientific Congress held in Washington in 1916 and the movements growing out of it did much to remove the complaint of the Latin Americans that the United States was interested in them chiefly from the commercial side, failing to appreciate their contribution to science, literature, and art. Besides the continual activities of the Pan-American Union, with headquarters in Washington, there have been developed a large number of societies and innumerable publications for the promotion of various phases of inter-American relations. Universities and colleges in the United States have organized special courses in the languages and history of Latin America and have made the attendance of Latin American students much easier. Latin America has come to be an increasingly popular subject to discuss with commercial organizations and Chautauqua audiences. Banks, factories, steamship companies, and engineers have made elaborate plans to extend trade toward the south. It may be said that for the first time in its history the United States is awake to the need of developing close relations with her southern neighbors.

II. Political Changes

The technical attitude of the Latin American countries in the World War was as follows:

Eight of the twenty nations actually declared war on Germany: Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. Five other Latin American states broke off diplomatic relations with Germany: namely, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay. Salvador declared herself in favor of benevolent neutrality toward the United States, which permitted the use of her ports and territorial waters by the warships of the United States and the Allies. The six remaining neutral nations—Argentina,

Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, and Venezuela—either by the statements of the executives or by resolutions passed by their congresses, or again by the pro-Ally tone of the majority of their leading newspapers and finally by the utterances of their most representative statesmen, also expressed themselves in favor of Pan-American solidarity.

The outstanding change in the political life of Latin America brought about by the war was its new attitude of friendliness toward the United States. It is not necessary here to refer to the well-known suspicion of the United States which has existed in all Latin American countries for years and has greatly limited the work of our missionaries. This prejudice and the change of sentiment are well described in the following editorial published in a leading Buenos Aires daily on July 4, 1917:

"The circumstances in which we find ourselves today on this anniversary of the North American nation serve to define a double principle of Americanism and democracy. This celebration in other years has been an occasion for rejoicing only for the United States. She could, with patriotic joy, stop in her march and contemplate with satisfaction the road traveled since the days of that memorable declaration. Other people joined the celebration with a cordiality more official and diplomatic than real.

"Today all is different. The United States, by the power of that great republican virtue which is the supporter of the right, is for the whole world not only a nation engaged in a knightly war, but an apostle in action. Some four years ago the Latin author, Rubén Darío, was able to say, led astray by superficial observation, that the United States, which had everything, lacked but one thing—God.

"Today this cannot be said, for the crusade of the United States and the serene and eloquent words of Wilson have a religious character, now that they intimate the abandonment and disregard of material interests in the face of the defense of the ideal."

Dr. Ernesto Quesada, of Argentina, speaking of the

need of all America's standing together, said: "Never more than at the present moment, while Europe is in the great conflict of nations, has America been confronted with a more vital necessity to stand together." Señor Ignacio Calderon, of Bolivia, puts it this way: "Freedom is a gift that is given only to nations who know how and are ready to defend it. America is destined to lead the world. Let us work together for the principle of right and justice, of liberty and happiness." Dr. Eduardo J. Pinto, of Costa Rica, was even more emphatic: "It would seem," he said, "that by a natural reflex action Americans, having witnessed the result of upheaval and conflict across the Atlantic, have banded together in order that the bonds of their security and peace may be strengthened and assured."

The great increase in the number of students coming from Latin America to the United States is an indication of this new spirit of confidence. Only recently the Government of Brazil sent to this country twenty-seven graduate students, who are to take two-year courses in agriculture, forestry, sanitation, and engineering. It is probable that from that country alone a hundred students will come this year, all financed by their Government.

III. Spiritual Changes

The outstanding spiritual change brought about by the war is an increased open-mindedness. The people of Latin America are doing more fundamental thinking than ever before in their history. They have hitherto been ruled more by sentiment than reason. They have rested on the glorious past of the Latin race, have magnified the differences between Latin Catholics and Anglo-Saxon Protestants, and have minimized the great economic and moral bases of American solidarity. They had ceased to regard religion as a real factor in modern life. But the World War, with its rude shock to their economic progress and to many of their philosophic theories, supposedly

beyond attack, compelled them to reexamine their individual and national relationships and to restate their theories. The spirit of inquiry, the willingness to listen, the new readiness to seek after God, if perchance they might find Him, impress one profoundly as traveling in those countries he talks with men of every status from university professors to laboring men.

Not since the struggle for independence a century ago has all Latin America been so stirred with the need of decision on a moral question as during the war. Some of the most dramatic scenes ever enacted in her history took place in the legislative halls and public assemblies when the questions concerning the nation's attitude toward the war were debated. In Peru, Dr. Mariano H. Cornejo, in a brilliant address before Congress, September 7, 1917, thus stated the moral issues involved:

"Gentlemen, I do not exaggerate when I say that never has Peru in her past history, never will she have in the future, a greater problem than to decide her attitude toward the world conflict, whose issues illumine the human conscience, bringing to judgment all religious and scientific dogmas, all moral values, all the utopias that man has conceived through the centuries. In the universe, reality consists not simply in the material which is temporal. Reality also consists in the intangible light. He does not know reality who does not take into account the unseen energy. . . . . The peoples of America are called upon to enlist themselves on the side of the Ideal. How unfortunate that at this time the ideal is so confounded with personal interest!"

Dr. Leopoldo Lugones, one of the outstanding men of Argentina, in arguing for a visit of the United States fleet to Buenos Aires, said:

"In Argentina neutrality is a desertion. Here, as in the entire world, there are two powers that compete with one another—despotism and liberty. And the object of such a gigantic struggle is the right to live with honor, without which even the life of a dog is too sad. This has received since the beginning of the war a sublime ratification.

Belgium, only a little atom in relation to colossal Germany, preferred her honor to her life. She gained with this her place of equality among the great. Did I say equality? Historical grandeur has nothing that goes beyond it!"

The following are extracts from an address delivered in the Brazilian Senate on Armistice Day by the well-known Brazilian statesman, Dr. Ruy Barbosa, who was called from his home to address the Senate upon the receipt of the news of peace:

"I desire to lift up my heart in praise to God for not having permitted me to deceive myself, when, in the conference at Buenos Aires, I counseled our nation, I counseled the other Latin American republics, I counseled the great Republic of the North, I counseled all America, I counseled all the neutral countries of the world, to break this unbearable neutrality between crime and right, between falsehood and truth, between infamy and justice. I desire only to say: 'Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth among men of good will,' whose faith, whose perseverance, whose heroism, took this cause upon their shoulders and bore it to the final victory of this hour.

"However, gentlemen, there is still another lesson of the war just ended, and we must not forget to make use of it for ourselves, for the salvation of our own country. The world moves toward other laws, toward other goals, toward a future of illimitable extent. Will it be possible for Brazil, in the midst of all these revolutions and upheavals, not to suffer its need of change in the character of its politics, its institutions, the procedures of its statesmen? No, gentlemen, we must be taught by these events, and we ought to realize that our republic must accommodate herself to the new modes of thought, that our government must set its people a different example from the usual one, or days perhaps tempestuous will be in store for us."

Many indications like the above show a new feeling among the peoples. They have been forced to face many decisions that involved an analysis of moral purposes. They have lived during the past rather in isolation, believing that science had solved their problems for them,

that nature had given them all that could be desired of riches and prosperity, and that religion had been practically eliminated. But they were suddenly confronted with the necessity of deciding which side they would take in a world struggle, realizing that they were being watched by the whole world as they made this decision. They were necessarily compelled to think of other things besides the economic, in which they had trusted almost entirely in the past.

These conditions also made them take life more seriously. Stopped from overborrowing, both in public and in private, they were compelled to think of saving money, food, and materials. The stories of the sacrifices of the peoples of Europe had large effect. Whether their particular nation declared war or not, they were compelled to face up to the meaning of war. The organization of the work of such enterprises as the Red Cross, carried on at first by the British and French, later on by Americans, and still later on joined in by the nationals of the various countries themselves, had a splendid effect in awaking the people to the needs of sacrifice and service. Even the investment in Liberty Bonds has had a good effect in bringing about these closer relations and in emphasizing the lessons of thrift and the responsibility of different peoples to help one another. The campaigns for the various war funds for the Allies were carried on in practically every Latin American country and yielded large results. Even little Santo Domingo gave some $85,000 in one campaign to the Red Cross. The Y. M. C. A. was able to raise large sums of money for its buildings in Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro, when the war was at its height. Thus a new spirit of giving was developed by the war. This new spirit will be favorable to a large support of missionary projects which are for the development of the community.

It is impressive to note the large number of individuals and organizations that are now beginning efforts to serve

the people. The Temperance Society of Peru, which is composed of some of the leading men of the country, is doing a remarkable work. In Chile and Uruguay there are a large number of societies promoting educational and charitable work, which are quite independent of the Government. In Argentina there are large groups—ranging in their activities from discussions in university halls to socialistic meetings among workmen on the street corners —which indicate spiritual hunger and initiative. The Child Welfare Congress is an illustration of this new spirit. The second Congress, held in June, 1919, in Montevideo, was an outstanding success and denotes a new day for the neglected child in South America.

In regard to interest directly in religion, there are many evidences that the war has increased it, though some correspondents deny this. There is no question but that there are signs of a marked interest recently displayed in Protestant teachings. In Chile, one of the richest men of Santiago recently came at night to the young pastor of a Methodist Church, and cried out for help in his spiritual struggle. The World War and the breaking up of all that seemed permanent in civilization had so upset him that he felt he could not stand it longer. After the funeral service of a prominent citizen, held in one of the evangelical churches in Buenos Aires, a university professor told the minister that if he would make an effort to let the intellectual classes know what the Evangelical Church was doing he felt sure that there would be found a prompt response to his efforts, there being now a great demand for new light on spiritual questions. In the same city a professor in the university recently gave a series of lectures on Emerson and the significance of the Unitarian and Puritan movements in New England. These lectures made a pronounced impression. Many things that Protestant missionaries would like to have said this university professor was telling the young men of Argentina. He has been contemplating a congress of religions that would

face the problem of establishing standards of morality and service in Argentinian life.

Most significant was the remark of another Argentinian gentleman: "I have lost my enthusiasm for France. If the United States does not save the world it will not be saved." Another said: "The educated classes are hungry for spiritual food. They are ready for your message, if you will only arrange to present it to them in an attractive way."

Leaders in various countries also realize more deeply the necessity of practical education for their children and so impressed are they by the work of the mission schools that they are anxious to have the number increased. The president of Paraguay, in discussing this question with workers who recently went to Asuncion to plan for a new mission, was eager to cooperate and said that there were public lands which could be given to them for an agricultural school, and an experiment station, already begun, which could be turned over, equipment and all. A most remarkable proposition was made to the Southern Presbyterian mission by the Brazilian Government, which offered it the free use of a well-equipped agricultural school, with some 10,000 acres of land, agreeing to back the school for a period of fifty years if the mission would provide the leaders in the teaching force. Moreover, the management was to have *carte blanche* in the matter of religious instruction. The Government of Brazil has also selected a former teacher in one of the mission schools to head a modern school of domestic science and paid her expenses to this country to secure seven other young women teachers, specifying that they, like herself, should have the missionary spirit.

The Roman Catholic Church has undoubtedly lost prestige in Latin America because of the general recognition that the Roman hierarchy in practically all of these countries, as well as in Europe, favored Germany. The following words of Señor Vildosola, editor of *El Mercurio*

of Santiago, are generally applicable to other Latin American countries:

"Perhaps the most of those who in Chile are still friendly to the German cause are to be found among the clergy and the militant Catholics, although indeed they are not the more cultured and better informed. At the beginning of the war many members of the Chilean clergy suffered the same perturbation of judgment as that in which the Spanish clergy still remains; they believed that in this war the Germanic empire was an instrument of Providence to chastise France for having expelled the religious orders."

To sum up, the Latin American nations have ceased to be children. Formerly they have been looked after by outside nations, their finances have been provided for them, their national resources exploited, their intellectual life dominated. The war has changed all of this. Just as when a child who has been protected by others comes to be thrown on his own resources, and is forced to make his own choices, so these young nations are beginning to face life with new seriousness and new responsibilities. As with all young people this may not be an unmixed good. They will yield to many temptations unless they have the strongest help from their elder friends. It is not only a fight for supremacy in the world of commerce that we shall see taking place in Latin America, but a fight for supremacy in the world of culture and morals.

The new opportunity for Christian service is well described by a word just received from a man who is constantly traveling in South America, visiting especially the universities there.

"With the present spiritual unrest that signifies a deep longing for something morally and spiritually better, and with the United States standing today beside France in the affections of the South American peoples, one longs to see every North American agency that can make a genuine contribution to the moral and spiritual progress of South America give itself whole-heartedly to this op-

portunity. No such time has existed since the days following the gaining of their political independence."

IV. Some Dangers Growing out of the World War

One of the first dangers to world peace to be found in Latin America would seem to be that involved in the trade war to which reference has already been made. This trade war will be keenest between England, the United States, Germany, and Japan. It is not pleasant to refer to the bitter feeling often generated by trade rivalry between Americans and Englishmen in Latin America. Observers who live in South America, however, realize the keenness of this rivalry. Many believe that if England and the United States should ever be threatened with war with one another it would come through their commercial rivalries in Latin America. Christian missionaries from these countries could do a great deal to do away with the evil effects of such rivalry, and it is unquestionably one of the problems that they ought to face.

Since, owing to world conditions, it is the investors of the United States who are most free to extend their holdings and to make new investments in these countries of the South, there is danger of the domination of American financial interests in the affairs of these nations. The Latin American countries have always been subjected to foreign domination in matters of this sort, a fact which was forcefully pointed out by President Wilson in his Mobile address, when, in speaking of Latin America, he said:

"The foreign interests are apt to dominate their domestic affairs, a condition of affairs always dangerous and likely to become intolerable. . . . . They have had harder bargains driven with them in the matter of loans than any other peoples of the world. Interest has been exacted of them that was not exacted of anybody else, because the risk was said to be greater, and thus securities were taken that destroyed the risk—an admirable arrangement for those who were forcing the terms. I rejoice in nothing so much as in the prospect that they

will now be emancipated from these conditions, and we ought to be the first to take part in assisting in that emancipation."

Already there have been upon the part of our investors several instances of successful interference in Latin American affairs, an outstanding illustration of which was the recent revolution in Costa Rica, where a progressive president was ousted largely through the influence of certain American financial interests who resented his refusal to grant concessions and special privileges to them. Another instance is the United States Senate's recent holding up of the treaty with Colombia because of protest from certain oil interests, who object to the nationalization of Colombia's oil lands. This treaty has already been delayed for some three years. Its approval is most necessary if we are to clear away the resentment of Latin America caused by the taking of Panama. In Cuba, American investors control almost entirely the economic life, through their investments in sugar. If Cuba is not to become the American Ireland there must be given careful consideration to the obligation of the American people for the development of her spiritual and educational life.

Certain financial interests have united in the organization of a propaganda bureau to discredit the present Mexican Government in the United States. This organization may claim that it is not in favor of armed intervention, which could only mean a war of invasion, but the effect of its propaganda is to persuade the American people that it is their Christian duty to take charge of the affairs of Mexico. A superficial view makes the average man, interested in "a moral clean-up," compare Mexico with Cuba and the Philippines, forgetting the vast differences, not only in the size of the countries, but in the development of their nationality, and, above all, the fact that Mexico is against our intervening, whereas the Cubans welcomed it very much, since they needed help in

their struggle for independence. The Philippines were composed of many separate peoples, speaking different languages, who have never developed a real national life or spirit. There rests upon the missionary organizations a responsibility, not only to make facts concerning international relations known, when they possess such facts, but also to take the part of these weak peoples when the strong materialistic and militaristic forces are united against them. If we fail to do this in our home land, where because of our present outstanding power we have much to do with deciding their fate, then they will have little confidence in our protestations of friendship when we go to serve them in their own lands.

A prominent Protestant minister in Mexico has said the following about what intervention would mean for missionary work:

"Intervention in Mexico by the United States would mean the destruction of all American mission work. For many years the Protestant ministers in Mexico have been accused of being bought with Yankee gold. We have continued in the employ of American mission boards, however, because we believed they were representative of the best Christian spirit and were trying to give to Mexico the pure Gospel of Christ—our country's greatest need. When the Revolution began the Protestant churches threw themselves into it almost unanimously, because they believed that its program represented what they had been preaching through the years, and that the triumph of the Revolution meant the triumph of the Gospel. Many Protestant preachers are now prominent in the Mexican Government and the liberal element has come to have a new respect for and interest in Evangelical Christianity. The people have seen that the Protestants were in favor of the Revolution and were willing to fight for it. Never before has there been in Mexico such eagerness to hear the Gospel. . . . . Conditions here are improving all the time. We are permitted to travel in all parts of the country to do our work. Intervention on the part of the American people would set back Christian work in Mexico a hundred years. It is impossible for the people of the United States to realize

how deep-seated would be the feeling against them. While Americans might say they were doing this for the good of Mexico, Mexicans would never admit it. They believe they have a right to work out their own salvation. Now that the American mission boards have planned to give them spiritual help in larger measure and the opportunities for preaching the Gospel are so great, it would be an immeasurable crime for the American people to make war on Mexico."

The third danger growing out of the war is the fear of some that the United States will use her military power developed in the World War for imperialistic purposes in Latin America. A former president of Colombia said recently in a public address: "We glory in the wonderful idealistic program of the United States as carried out in the World War. We admire all of her accomplishments. We pay tribute to her wonderful organization and the unselfishness with which she has thrown herself into the fight for democracy which is a fight for all of America. Yet we cannot fail to realize that the United States is building up a powerful war machine which might very easily be turned upon her weaker neighbors to the South." Such feelings are intensified by the talk so prevalent at the present time concerning intervention in Mexico. Such intervention would not only profoundly affect all mission work of the United States in that country but cost us the friendship of all Latin America. The domination of the United States in the affairs of Cuba, Santo Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Panama lends much weight to such words as those just quoted and cannot help but concern the missionary worker.

Whatever may be said in justification of our taking over Santo Domingo and ruling it for these three years and a half by martial law—where all that newspapers print must be submitted to the American military authorities and no criticism of such authorities is allowed; where no public meetings to discuss political affairs are per-

mitted; and where there is practically no way by which the civil population can come into contact with, and make its wants known, to the American military authorities—certainly such conditions cannot exist permanently and the missionary forces of the United States should take an interest in having them changed. The missionary forces have done practically nothing in either Santo Domingo or Haiti. Before the soldiers come out the missionaries must go in. Their program must be inclusive enough to develop the whole life of the people so that they may be prepared for peace and order in doing their part of the world's work. The influence of the United States is stronger in the Caribbean district than anywhere else. Yet it is a notable fact that our missionary effort, with the exception of that in Cuba and Porto Rico, amounts to less in that area than in any other part of Latin America. The neglect of Central America, Santo Domingo, Haiti, Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador from the missionary standpoint is appalling. Yet it is in this area that our political responsibilities are the largest. The missionary forces must do their part in helping to solve these inter-American relationships. In fact there is no more important thing for North American missionary development in the South than an honest carrying out toward the small nations in America of the doctrine we have proclaimed in entering the World War. Nothing will more surely deaden our spiritual influence than the prevalence of the spirit described by President Lowell, of Harvard University, as follows:

"Some Americans, while professing a faith in the right of all peoples to independence and self-government, are really imperialists at heart. They believe in the right and manifest destiny of the United States to expand by overrunning its weaker neighbors. They appeal to a spirit of patriotism that sees no object, holds no ideals, and acknowledges no rights or duties, but the national welfare and aggrandizement. In the name of that principle Germany sinned and fell. The ideas of these Ameri-

can imperialists are less grandiose, but at bottom they differ little from hers. It would be a calamity if we should have helped to overcome Germany only to be conquered by her theories and her errors.

"According to that view Central and South America are a game preserve, from which poachers are excluded, but where the proprietor may hunt as he pleases. Naturally the proprietor is anxious not only to keep away the poachers but to oppose game laws that would interfere with his own sport. With their professed principles about protecting the integrity and independence of small countries, the nations that have drawn up the Covenant of Paris can hardly consent to a claim of this kind. Nor ought we to demand it. A suspicion that this is the real meaning of the Monroe Doctrine is the specter that has prevented the great South American states from accepting the doctrine. It has been the chief obstacle to mutual confidence and cordial relations with them, and the sooner it is definitely rejected the better."

The protest of Latin American statesmen against the Monroe Doctrine is easily understood when we realize that it is the kind of interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine to which President Lowell refers that is most generally understood in Latin America. Latin American missionaries cannot ignore their duty toward this problem of inter-American friendship, on which the peace of the continent and the world so greatly depends.

A fourth danger is the new emphasis on militarism and materialism which, in spite of all that has been said concerning a new desire for spiritual life, has been felt by many Latin Americans. Many Latin American nations which have had practically no army or navy are now considering it imperative to spend the larger part of their national income on militarism.

The following is a summary of a reply to several questions addressed to a prominent lawyer and educator in Chile:

"First of all the war's lessons is that all nations and principally the small ones must be prepared for war on the Swiss model, so that every man and woman and fac-

tory would be a factor in war. The school must be the first step in war preparation. Rights must be supported by force, as force has proved, once more, that it is the best defender of rights. Had it not been for their perfect military organizations, Holland and Switzerland would have been invaded. If international wars come to an end, they are going to be replaced by internal wars headed by the working classes against capitalism, and mankind will suffer more by these than by the former."

The danger of materialism is further illustrated by the following published words of a prominent Argentinian:

"The uselessness of the exaggerated religious spirit of our times is revealed by its own inefficiency. What use has religion been in the present world conflict? . . . . Religion has not been able to avert the war. On the field of battle peoples are being massacred by those of their own belief, and they march hand in hand with those whom they believed to be heretics but yesterday. . . . . But there must come out of it all, as a logical consequence of the struggle, the universal decadence of religious morality, and, with the strengthening of democracy, there will come the implantation of a human morality."

V. A New Program for the Missionary Enterprise

Practically all correspondents in Latin America with whom we have been in touch express the belief that the missionary must enlarge his work into an effort to change society itself, and not simply the individual. The war has taught the very close relationships among all departments of life. Neither a man nor a nation can have one compartment for his religion, another for his social life, and another for his political. The exposure of this fallacy so long existing in Latin America will be a great service for the missionary to render. It is of real concern to the Christian worker whether either the individual or the nation is on a sound economic basis, whether his political life is honest, whether the educational bases are correct, and whether international relations are healthy. Nothing

that has to do with life can be foreign to the man who is working for the elevation of the people.

There must be renewed vigor in pointing out the falsity of the materialistic and economic theories of life. Education with a religious background must be given increased attention. The missionary must find new methods of impressing upon the people the truth that strong nationality can be developed only through love and service and sacrifice. He must find new ways of identifying himself with the social and philanthropic organizations that are seeking outside of the Church to do the same things that he is seeking to do in the Church. He must realize that there are many honest, spiritually minded people outside of the Church who are doing much for the Kingdom. He must seek fellowship with these men and work shoulder to shoulder with them. In such work he will often find the opportunity to give the spiritual note which is the one thing lacking. Rightly to guide the rising spirit of nationalism, not to oppose it, will be one of the missionary's important tasks.

The missionary will be able to enlarge this nationalism into internationalism by preaching a universal religion, pointing out that he comes to convert men, not to North American ideas nor North American language, but to Christ, the universal Saviour; that Christianity needs the peculiar emphasis of the Latin American as well as the Anglo-Saxon, the Oriental, and all other nations, to make up its perfect whole. Dr. Warneck used to say that Americans read the great commission, "Go ye into all the world and teach the English language to every creature." This has been far too true of missionary work in Latin America. No one can deny that, as one missionary expresses it, many reforms and many great ideas have ridden into the country on the back of the English language; that there is a strong demand for the teaching of English which our mission schools can legitimately gratify; and that English literature will do much to in-

culcate moral ideals. But we shall never have our largest influence in Latin America as long as we remain foreign, preferring a foreign language and seeking to inculcate foreign ideals. The objection most often heard about our mission schools is that they are little parts of North America set down in Latin America. They teach the English language; they display the portraits of Washington and Lincoln rather than those of the national heroes; they inculcate the ideals of a foreign nation; and they even call their institutions by foreign names which are unfamiliar and unpronounceable.

To overcome this criticism it seems important that missionaries increasingly do two things especially: First, read the national literature which discusses these problems. One who has not kept in touch with it is surprised to find how many of the larger problems which missionaries are facing are discussed in the Latin American press and in books appearing constantly these days. Great help will be received from a continued following of the national mind as it appears in what people are reading. Second, form friendships with the leaders in national life. These men are surprisingly easy of access, and appreciative of the opportunity to discuss their problems with the foreigner who shows an intelligent sympathy with them.

If missionary work is to succeed, the leaders must be identified with the thinking people of the community and understand their national literature, their educational program, and all the other forces that go to make up the national mind. This will mean the expenditure of time, but the results will certainly be worthy of it. The missionary, with the enlargement of his service for the whole community, has now the most remarkable opportunity ever presented in the history of Latin America.

PART III

MISSIONARY PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES IN THE LIGHT OF THE WAR

CHAPTER XIV

THE EFFECT OF WAR ON MISSIONARY SPIRIT AND ACTIVITY[1]

We are witnessing in these days an unparalleled quickening of missionary activity. Individual denominations are inaugurating more effective prosecution of the missionary enterprise. There is, further, a general marshaling of the forces of Protestantism in America in the Interchurch World Movement, growing largely out of the desire that with united front we may go forward in our great task of evangelizing the nations. So often do we hear these movements associated with the results of the war and in some part even attributed to it that we are led soberly to question whether it is but an accident that these new developments began during the war and are developing now so rapidly, or whether there is some vital connection between the two. It is such questions as these that have led us to review the history of missions in the light of the effects of war, in an attempt to correct any hasty impressions by the sobering facts of history.

It should be understood, of course, at the very outset of this chapter, that nothing could be further from our thought than to assume that the net result of war is favorable to foreign missions. We see in war a great spiritual calamity, something that should be abolished and that will be abolished when nations proceed on truly Christian principles. There are, nevertheless, certain

[1] The present chapter is an historical consideration of what has happened after other wars. Various phases of missionary activity in the light of the World War will be considered in subsequent chapters.

by-products of war which may be used advantageously and of which we need to lay hold as partial compensations for its disasters. It is with these indirect and compensating aspects of war that we are here concerned as we consider the bearing of war on missionary activity.

While this is an historical discussion, we shall perhaps be able more clearly to follow the development of the thought if we first enunciate certain principles which have come to light and then seek their illustration in particular periods of history.

I. War and the Spread of Christianity

In the first place, our study has led to a realization of the fact that the results of war in the breaking down of old national lines, while leading to a temporary disruption of unity, have in the ultimate analysis proved the foundation of a new and larger unity, and that even when wars have seen as their immediate result the overthrow of a higher by a lower civilization, the higher ideals have by the conflict been brought into touch with the lower as might have been possible in no other way, and have finally been victorious.

This result is strikingly illustrated in the very early history of the Church. There was too great a temptation to "tarry at Jerusalem," and while certain bolder spirits like Paul strove from the first to make Christianity a universal religion, there was grave danger of its becoming a sect of Judaism. The war at Jerusalem, its fall in 70 A. D., and the consequent scattering of the Christians centered there, proved the salvation of the missionary aspect of Christianity. The disciples, dispersed, went everywhere preaching the Word and a great crisis in the history of Christianity was safely passed.

Another great chapter in the history of missions is the achievements of the fifth century. The Roman Empire had been conquered by Christianity, but again there was too little evidence of a desire to attempt greater con-

quests for Christ. There followed the period of barbarian invasions and at the close of the fifth century the political map of Europe had been rewritten. The Eastern Empire was restricted to Thrace and Greece, with the Asiatic provinces and Egypt; Italy itself and parts of the eastern shore of the Adriatic were held by the Ostrogoths, while Spain and a large part of the adjacent territory of France were in the possession of the Visigoths. The Burgundians occupied southeastern France, the Franks the northern portion and part of western Germany, and what is now Portugal was in the hands of the Suevi. The temporal power of Rome was gone, but during this period of confusion and strife there had been working among these barbarian tribes Ulfilas, "the Moses of the Goths," born about 311 A. D., who, largely through his own efforts, by 381, saw Athanaric, the great hostile king of the Visigoths, converted and practically the whole nation following in his footsteps. One by one the conquerors were conquered by the Christ and by the close of the fifth century each of these nations occupying the portions of the old empire had, at least nominally, embraced Christianity. It was the result of a century and a half of missionary activity growing very largely out of the broader field opened up by war.

Nor need we stay at the fifth century for confirmation of our theory. The following centuries were just as stormy and as new regions came into the sphere of conflict Christianity entered also. What a glorious chapter of names we read as we follow the history of these times! Patrick, captured in a raid of Irish tribes upon the Scots, was carried to Ireland as a slave, where during the quiet hours of captivity his missionary purposes developed. As a result Ireland was evangelized and itself became the chief center of the missionary activity from the sixth to the ninth centuries. Here was born in 521 Columba, who in his earlier years distinguished himself in the conflict of the Irish tribesmen and, in fact, narrowly escaped ex-

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communication because of his participation in the massacres of the times. This, however, proved a turning point in his career and in 563 we find him founding at Iona the monastery which fostered the missions to the pagans of north Scotland, the Picts. In Ireland also was born Columban, twenty years later, who labored in Gaul during the political chaos of the period resultant upon the invasion of the Roman colony by the Franks and other Teutonic tribes. Later we find him in Switzerland and northern Italy. Time fails to do more than name other great missionaries of the period, Augustine in England, Boniface in Germany, Ansgar in Scandinavia, Vladimir among the Slavs. Suffice it to point to the astounding result that this most turbulent of periods resulted in the Christianizing, at least nominally, of all Europe by the close of the ninth century. This Christianization of these stalwart warlike tribes meant also the raising up for Christianity of strong defenders against the invasion of the infidel. By the battle of Tours in 732, when Charles Martel successfully defended the Christian development of Europe for coming centuries, was secured the confining of Mohammedan conquests to the East, the turning of the tide, the Crusades, and the arousing even of the idea of proselytizing among the Mohammedans.

After surveying this period, it is significant to find again that undisturbed possession resulted in depression of missionary activity. By the close of the ninth century the Roman bishop thought no more of missionary conquests. Europe was his and with the assurance of temporal power the dark ages of missions set in, broken only by the heroic efforts of a few individuals such as the martyr Raymond Lull. Before further great external effort was made it was necessary that the Church purify herself internally. While we cannot deny praise to the real zeal of the missionary orders which sprang up in the Middle Ages, we find the truly great efforts after the

Reformation and the quickening of a new spirit in Christendom.

We cannot leave this brief résumé of some of the early missionary achievements without noting further some of the indirect effects of the wars and conquests which mark the time. The period of Roman conquest and supremacy, as is often remarked, itself paved the way for the rapid extension of Christianity. The wonderful roads, built largely for military purposes, proved also an effective means of communication for the missionary. The Greek language, practically the official language for the East, made possible intercommunication of ideas in a common tongue and the rapid dissemination of the Gospel. A striking modern parallel is the conquest of India, the consequent opening of India to missionary effort, the building up there of English as a common tongue, for the upper classes at least, and the greater homogeneity which has been produced there by the common tongue and superior means of communication.

We find also that the Roman soldier himself was often an effective missionary. It is commonly believed that the evangelization of the Britons was brought about in no small measure by the efforts of individual soldiers in the first and second centuries A. D. Christ Himself and the Apostles found soldiers often the most promising material for disciples. We shall never be able to measure the effect of the often unnoticed labors of the soldier who has carried with him the spirit of Christ when in other lands. It is interesting to find that the founding of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America was due to a Wesleyan convert, Captain Thomas Webb, who, while stationed in garrison in New York, joined himself to a few Methodists in the city and aided in the foundation of this denomination here. It is not difficult nor visionary to imagine that what occurred here in the eighteenth century may have been occurring all through the centuries, and that with the names of such great soldier missionaries

as Davis of Japan, House of Persia, and Christy of Tarsus, there are to be coupled a legion of those unnoted in history who have journeyed to war and have not forgotten their higher loyalty to the Christ. In this connection it may well be noted also that new friends for the missionary movement will almost certainly be found among the soldiers who have been stationed during the recent war in mission fields such as Persia and Mesopotamia.

II. War and the Sacrificial Spirit

An historical survey also convinces us that the present increased interest in missions, to which we referred at the beginning of this paper, is due in large part to the general quickening of the emotions in time of war, to the rebirth of the spirit of sacrifice, and the enlarging of men's vision. The blood of the martyrs proved to be the seed of the Church partly because of the noble example and partly because of the fact that periods of danger, of human need, and of human suffering, lead to a general awakening of the spirit. Since times of war bring such periods, we find in them signs of this quickened life.

What conspicuous proof of this fact we find when we study the history of Europe in the troubled times of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars which followed! There is a veritable renaissance in the field of literature, but in no sphere do we find greater proof of the new life which came than in the missionary enterprise. It can hardly be wholly an accident of contemporaneity that during these years the Church roused itself from its lethargy and took up anew the missionary task. The spirit of the War of Independence and the French Revolution was in the air. England underwent a great religious revival and the dead formalism of the previous age gave place to a new faith. Her great conquests had made her overlord of much of the non-Christian world and now for the first time did she become in

any large measure conscious of the responsibility which was thus placed upon her. In quick succession one after another of the great missionary societies was founded: in 1792, the Baptist Missionary Society; in 1795, the London Missionary Society; in 1799, the Church Missionary Society; in 1800, the Religious Tract Society; in 1813, the British and Foreign Bible Society; in 1810, the American Board; in 1812, the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society; in 1816, the American Bible Society; and, in 1819, the Methodist Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions. We would not slight the efforts put forward in the preceding years, the splendid work of individual missionaries and a few societies, but these efforts were more or less sporadic in their nature, while the great revival of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries bespeaks some unusual cause. It may be found, in some measure at least, in the motives aroused by the wars of the time.

This conclusion may be strengthened also by reference to our own Civil War, when again we find that the motives underlying the war and finding expression in it transferred themselves to the cause of missions. This period and the years immediately following witnessed the founding of many of the women's boards of foreign missions.

III. War and the Enrichment of Christianity

In the third place, let us note in the light of history the ultimate enrichment of Christianity which has been brought about by its spread throughout new territories opened up by wars. Warneck, in his "History of Protestant Missions," has ably expressed this thought in his picture of the missions of the apostolic age: "In the apostolic age the grafting of the wild branches into the good stem of the good olive-tree (Rom. 11:17) not only saved the infant Church from the dominion of a new legalism, but also secured for it its future as the religion

of the world." The experience of that age has been paralleled whenever the missionary message has been carried into new realms and has come into contact with new types of thought. We have seen how once and again a Church which was becoming self-centered was saved from itself by missionary activity. With its spread among the barbarians who broke into the Roman Empire, strange new heresies developed. Wherever its missionaries went new conceptions of the truth arose; but the final result was the enriching of the gospel message. Jesus Christ is too universal in His character to be interpreted by any one people or race. Disrupting war and conquests and the subsequent enlargement of His Kingdom have indirectly done much for the fuller interpretation of His character.

We have refrained from any consideration of the World War through which we have just passed, in order that we might first have the guide of history as we endeavor to measure its results in their relationship to missionary activity. Now that we have before us certain historical impressions we may, though with a certain diffidence because of its immediacy, note briefly whether this greatest war of the ages may be found to follow those underlying principles which we have been discussing.

Taking up the principles in the order stated, we find that, though in somewhat different fashion, this war has been one of the most conspicuous examples of the breaking down of old national lines and bids fair to result in the larger unity which has followed similar disruptions. We do not deal here with conquests of barbarian tribes, but the principle remains the same, since the same intimate contacts have been brought about. We are overwhelmed by the thought of the immensity of the possibilities involved if there should be a repetition of some of the facts of earlier history. Nineteen tribes of Africa fought on the side of the Allies. Not only did Christians

mingle with non-Christians in remote parts of the earth, but the unique spectacle was presented of the active participation of these non-Christian peoples of almost every color and race in the struggles in the West. The possibilities of the closer intimacy, the better mutual understanding, which are necessary accompaniments of evangelization, are very great. No finer summing up of the situation could be found than in the great "Ballad of East and West" by Kipling, the first two lines of which are so often quoted but which do not penetrate so deeply into the truth as do the two ringing lines which follow:

> "But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth;
> When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the earth."

The strong men of India, Africa, China, and many other non-Christian nations have stood face to face with our own strongest. The old wall of partition between East and West is down and in the new vital relationship lies an infinitude of possibilities for Christian missions.

We are privileged to live in a day when the second principle of the quickening of sympathies, the enlargement of vision, and the consequent intensification of missionary activities has been clearly apparent. Perhaps more than any other war the recent struggle issued from motives of an ennobling type. Many of those who have served in the war have realized fully the great moral issues at stake and, with the higher vision which they have gained, are ready to devote their lives to a higher purpose than they had formerly in mind. The number of soldiers returning from the war who have offered themselves for missionary service has amply proved that some have been tried by fire and come forth purified. Before those who have been at home there has been the example of those who have suffered and died for them, and in many a Christian's heart this has led to a deeper

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consecration, a more purposeful desire himself to do something for others. The Churches everywhere need to realize the bigness of the opportunity, to use this new combative energy released by the war in a new war against vice, disease, poverty, death; to extend the range of sympathy created by the war to the needs of men everywhere; as Bishop Gore aptly puts it, "to carry forward into the period of peace the discipline of service and of sacrifice which we have learned in the war." Present observation, supported by history, convinces us that we stand on the threshold of a great era for missions. In the period of the war itself the contributions to missionary societies both here and in Great Britain increased.[2] Will the great sums expended for philanthropic purposes in the war go back into some of the old selfish channels or will they go into the great warfare for Christ?

Finally, what can we say of the ultimate enrichment of Christianity which may follow the blendings of the nations which we have portrayed as resulting from the recent struggle? While the historian may judge from the experience of the past, we need the prophet's eye to envision the future that may result from an effective realization of the opportunities now ours. The contact with new tribes in the past may have added strength to Christianity but it cannot be compared with the rich results which would follow the development of the doctrine of the Cross among the Eastern nations with which we have now come into closer contact. There is no doubt but that the practical West, while developing the ideals of Jesus, yet fails, through an innate incapacity, to apprehend fully the mystic Christ. Once the ideal of Jesus Christ shall be enthroned in the East—in religious

[2] Gifts of money from various countries increased from $16,000,000 in 1915 to $21,000,000 in 1918. See Charles R. Watson, "Report of the Foreign Missions Conference," 1919.

India, for example—what so-called heresies and what great new thought may be born of the contact!

Warneck has stated that every missionary development has its three stages: first, that of the sending of the individual and of individual conversions, the gathering of comparatively small churches; second, that of organized work by the native forces and the cultivation of the church life; third, that of the Christianizing of masses, which is generally connected with the occurrence of specially great historical events, political revolutions, and the acceptance of Christianity by reigning chiefs. May this great war through which we have passed, and these political and social revolutions now raging bear rich fruit in the evangelizing, not only of individuals, but, according to Christ's own words, of the nations!

CHAPTER XV

LESSONS FROM THE WAR AS TO PROPAGANDA FOR MISSIONS

There were few more striking aspects of the war than the tremendous campaign of publicity and popular education commonly designated as propaganda. Before the war the term often had a somewhat sinister connotation, a connotation which was accentuated by the use of the word in connection with Germany's subtle endeavors to justify the war in the eyes of the world. The expression has now come, however, to be widely accepted as meaning any organized program for a broadcast dissemination of ideas, and it is in this sense that we shall use it here. If any of the old stigma still lingers in the term, we may hope that it will become disassociated therefrom by being applied to the missionary enterprise.

I. The Place of Propaganda in Any Movement

The whole idea of propaganda was heartily accepted and justified on every side during the war. Every nation engaged in the conflict recognized the vital necessity for the wide dissemination of the ideas that would arouse patriotism and secure vigorous action. Probably never before in the history of the world had such extensive and effective plans of popular education and publicity been put into effect. There was a general assumption that the success or failure of the nation would in large measure be determined by it. Propaganda is now an approved factor in carrying on any movement that calls for the sympathy and cooperation of a great body of people.

This universal acceptance and justification of the idea

of propaganda has a significance for Christian missions that has not been sufficiently recognized. It used to be urged by critics of the foreign missionary movement that it was unseemly in us to force our ideas upon other people, but now when this is the very thing that the nations at large have been doing and which is recognized as justified, the foundation of the old objection to the missionary attitude is completely gone. Instead of feeling a reluctance we recognize a compulsion and a responsibility to propagate any conviction that we hold important for the world.

In addition to justifying the idea of propaganda, the war experience ought also to teach us something with regard to its possible use in securing home support for foreign missions. From the methods of war propaganda and the motives to which it made appeal we ought to be able to gather lessons for our work.

II. Lessons from the War Propaganda

There are certainly aspects of the war propaganda on which we may wisely build, not in a merely imitative way, but with careful adaptation and modification in the light of the different character of the work.

1. The public mind is now prepared for propaganda. The various well-organized drives and campaigns, together with the plans and publicity programs which were necessary to make them effective, have left a strong impress and created a readiness to accept just claims. The public mind, therefore, may well be a more fruitful field than formerly for missionary propaganda.

2. We have a new appreciation of the contagion of ideas when effectively set forth. After certain ideas and ideals connected with the winning of the war came to command completely the lives of many individuals, they were spread everywhere by the contagion of print, and speech, and life. It is just such a sway of convincing ideas through the influence of personal conviction and expres-

sion that is needed in the spread and deepening of missionary interest in the Church.

3. From the effectiveness of our war propaganda we ought to have learned the necessity of presenting facts in the most effective ways. The appeal of the war propaganda was conveyed in the greatest variety of form, to the eye as well as to the ear, through picture and poster as well as through the printed page, through word of mouth and personal contacts. The challenge was universal. It was impossible to escape the call of the facts. They appealed in unexpected ways and in unexpected places. Certainly there are aspects of this experience which should be instructive to the Church. The great majority of Christians are woefully uninformed concerning the missionary movement. The cause of this ignorance lies, no doubt, in large measure in the individual, but certainly the efforts of the organized agencies of the Church to give such information in the most impressive and appealing way have been entirely inadequate.

4. A significant avenue of propaganda was the so-called "four-minute men." The Government enlisted an army of 20,000 of these speakers. In this plan the facts were vitalized by personality. They not only spread information throughout the land, but also became enthusiasts themselves in the cause. The contagion of their enthusiasm was undoubtedly one of the most effective means of influencing public opinion during the war. The value of a wider use of some similar means of promotion of the missionary cause would be very great.

5. In connection with the appeal of the war for life there are several outstanding facts that are worth calling to mind in our missionary appeal. We have learned in the first place that the appeal for life must be primary, the appeal for money secondary. The nation needed both money and men, but its supreme need was for men, and one of the amazing features of the war was the ease with which money was secured because life was ready for

service. People at home gave to war causes because their sons, or relatives, or friends were in France. The war came home to them when human life was being offered for the cause to which they were asked to contribute. It is an emphasis that in our missionary appeals we ought to keep more clearly to the fore. Have we not too often tended to look for money first and for men and women afterwards?

We may also remind ourselves that in securing life the Government did not depend upon volunteers, but regarded every citizen as under call for service. Those who were qualified for service abroad and most needed there were called upon to go. Others were used in a host of ways at home. The great principle was that every citizen was in service for the common cause. In the Church we cannot actually draft men for foreign service, but we can lay more insistently upon those who are qualified their peculiar responsibility. We need also to select men, not for service in general, but for particular tasks on certain fields. Most important of all we must build up throughout the Church the point of view which regards every Christian as one who is in some way enlisted in the missionary cause.

6. The Government knew that the only way to provide enough men, funds, and leadership for the task was first to estimate the resources needed and then bend every energy to fill the demand. It did not calculate how much money or how many men we could conveniently raise. It calculated what would be necessary to do the job. We need a similar approach to our missionary task. Careful surveys of the fields and a thorough tabulation of forces needed to occupy them would make possible a far stronger appeal both for money and life. What we need first of all is not to know what resources we may hope to secure, but what resources are demanded in order to carry out the task.

7. The education of the public in support of the war

was carried on by strong organizations built up for that purpose, which employed trained specialists and demanded liberal expenditures of money. The results justified it. The Church needs to carry on a campaign of public education in missionary responsibility, and careful organization with wise but liberal expenditure of money will be needed in its task also.

8. The war propaganda was in the interest of getting big things done in a big way. We discovered that multitudes of people whose generosity had never been drawn out by the Church have capacities for responding in a noble way. In a day when men have ideals of a size formerly undreamed of and have become accustomed to undertakings on a magnificent scale, the Church must teach its members that this is the time for the greatest Christian campaign in history. We have a new appreciation of the fact that the very magnitude of a task is a potent factor in securing a great response.

9. The war propaganda had the excellence of calling upon men to do a great work together. The undertaking was overwhelming enough to evoke a genuine unity. Unity at home was a prime demand and was achieved in an astonishing degree. United community appeals for funds were everywhere successful, not only in actually raising funds, but in awakening the interest of each community as a whole. Unity abroad among the armies was equally indispensable. No one can measure the extent to which the united strategy of the Allied armies was actually responsible for winning the war. We see with greater clearness how imperative it is that this spirit of united effort, even if not all the methods employed, be laid hold of by the Church. There is no other cause where the Churches have so much in common as in foreign missions, nor is there any other cause where competition, duplication, and waste are so inexcusable. The Interchurch World Movement is aiming now at a greater unification of efforts and there are great possi-

bilities involved in its unified approach and unified appeal. There is still further need that our unity of action go beyond even interdenominational activities in this country. Movements within the various nations need to be unified now as much as they did in the prosecution of the war. Unless we can bring our Christian forces together internationally, we cannot hope to carry on adequately the missionary occupation of non-Christian lands. The experience of the war ought in some measure at least to have prepared all Christians to unite in their tasks and to make possible a missionary program of unparalleled breadth and power.

III. Dangers in War-Time Propaganda

But other tendencies appeared in war propaganda which have a note of warning in them. We need to remind ourselves, therefore, of certain dangers that we shall do well to avoid.

1. There is the danger of supposing that we can bring about the sudden, wide acceptance of an idea without the necessary preparation of a patient, long-continued educational process. We need to remember that in large part the success of our governmental undertakings during the war rested on some long-standing educational facts. Back of the response of the people there were the years of training in patriotism which had been preached through the home and school, in church and street, in formal and informal ways. There was a foundation upon which the nation in its war work could build. Neither in the war nor in missions can we hope to erect a superstructure of results through promotional publicity without having previously planted in the hearts and consciences of the people a genuine understanding of the work.

2. The war propaganda, however, in many ways, despite the helpful background of patriotism just described, was a short cut to action instead of a development of a steady movement. The emergency conditions were such

that it could not be otherwise. But missionary propaganda cannot safely follow these lines. It demands the same urgency as the war campaign, but it must of necessity be steady and cumulative, resting not upon surface enthusiasm but upon the principles of unselfishness and spirituality.

3. There was often a tendency in war-time efforts to appeal to any motives one thought might secure the desired result, whether these motives were worthy or unworthy. We must carefully distinguish between the types of motive to which appeal may be made. Much of the propaganda used for war, though it may have been temporarily effective in that realm, would be worse than valueless in connection with a religious movement.

4. Again, there was a danger of exaggerated statement and even of lack of sincerity. This is perhaps the most insidious of the evils to which the propagandist may fall victim. Careless and exaggerated statement, while wrong in any movement, may not have such a harmful effect in the abnormal atmosphere of war when people pass with great rapidity in their thinking from one phase of a subject to another. In the missionary propaganda, however, the slightest suspicion of untruth is fraught with danger to the cause.

5. Abnormal pressure leading sometimes to unwilling giving was an element in the promotion of war funds that must be carefully avoided. In some communities people almost had the feeling that they were being "held up." If the war had continued longer we would have begun to feel "overcampaigned." If we are to enlist the giver as well as the gift it must be the worth of the cause itself, not an external pressure, that is the stimulus.

6. Perhaps the greatest mistake that we could make in trying to build upon the experience of the war would be to suppose that the high tension methods used in a national emergency can be used unchanged in a movement of a very different character. The war was for a

few years at most; missionary service or support is for life. The war was a public thing which could count on easy enthusiasm; missions has to appeal to deep religious convictions and experience. The war propaganda made its appeal to everyone; missions can make its full appeal only to those with spiritual vision and with hearts touched by the spirit of Christ. However much we learn from our war activities, let us not suppose that the Kingdom of God can be established without other means than those that the kingdoms of this world use.

IV. The Motives to Which Missionary Propaganda Should Appeal

The motives to which our war propaganda appealed were as diverse as could well be imagined—desire for adventure, fear, hate, duty, loyalty, sympathy for the suffering, desire for service, ambition to do the heroic. The motives thus appealed to were in part such as are stirred in every war. But there were three at least that were so characteristic of the idealism with which so many entered the struggle that they should have something to teach us concerning the motives to which foreign missions can wisely and successfully appeal.

1. *The appeal to unselfish world-wide service.* We hardly knew before the war how much capacity for unselfishness there was in ordinary human life. It is beyond question that hundreds of thousands of men went into the conflict because it seemed to afford a great opportunity to do something generous, chivalrous, and sacrificial. With them personal fortunes were lost sight of. So also was compensation. Millions of others at home denied themselves in other ways, not grudgingly, but because they had found something greater than their own narrow self-interest for which to live. Under the stimulus of war men all over the land were found ready to put the welfare of the nation first and to find their satisfaction in ministering to the common good.

And this responsiveness to appeal for unselfish service carried with it a new sense of world responsibility. Before the war we felt ourselves to be isolated and self-contained and were satisfied to be so. We felt that the affairs of the rest of the world were not of our making and their muddles not attributable to us. Suddenly we found ourselves immersed in all the currents of international life and called upon to be the Good Samaritan of the world. We came to think of ourselves almost as a "missionary nation." When the President went before Congress during the war, he gave in substance great, national "foreign mission" addresses. He crossed the country, sounding the altruistic note of a new internationalism which would bind America to a great responsibility in the uplift of the world. Everywhere there was a most generous response to this new appeal of our world obligations. The later opposition in Congress and elsewhere to this enlarging of our horizon is very similar in its tenor to anti-missionary arguments that we have so often heard. When the arguments against our new world relationships as a nation are overcome the missionary movement ought surely to have something on which to build.

2. *The appeal to sympathy for the suffering and the unfortunate.* In securing support for the war there were few if any motives that were more successfully appealed to than this. In America the war was depicted as an effort to help the oppressed and the suffering. The wrong done to weaker nations and their need were constantly held before us. Belgium became almost a symbol of why we were in the war. Unquestionably we came to feel more keenly that the fortunate of the earth are under obligations to share their good fortune with those not so blessed. The nation responded on a tremendous scale to the challenge that those who are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak. We have had a new demonstration that there is a great treasure of human sympathy

and altruism to which foreign missions with its program of help for backward, needy, suffering peoples can make a powerful appeal.

3. *The appeal to the heroic spirit.* The challenge of the war was presented in terms so stupendous as to seem overwhelming, but it was the very greatness of the task that was one secret of its hold upon the hearts of men. It called upon a great store of latent heroism and disclosed to us what capacities for noble living there are in ordinary men. The most hopeful thing about the war was this robust and heroic attitude toward life that it engendered in so many lives. It is clear that in the Church we need a moral equivalent of war, "something heroic," to quote William James, "that will speak to men as universally as war does and yet will be as compatible with their spiritual selves as the war has shown itself to be incompatible."

How superbly the foreign missionary enterprise meets such a need! Nowhere else is there such an outlet as it affords for maintaining the high spirit of heroic living and self-forgetful service that was displayed under the challenge of the war. We need not hesitate in the light of the experience of the last few years to make the missionary appeal daring, courageous, sacrificial, both for those who go abroad and for those who support it here at home. We have seen in an unmistakable way the power of Jesus' appeal to the heroic in humanity: "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me."

"How hard it will be for many who have been lifted out of themselves by the call of their country in these days to go back to a monotonous life in which no great purpose fills its dullest moments with meaning and value. This is the opportunity for a great religious word to be spoken, even the word that Jesus spoke in Galilee. Let them hear not simply the call of country but that of humanity. Let them enlist not simply for the duration of

the war but for a lifelong passion. Let them know that this purpose links them with the age-long purpose of a loving God."[1]

[1] H. T. Hodgkin, "Lay Religion," p. 124.

CHAPTER XVI

NEW DEMANDS REGARDING THE CHARACTER AND TRAINING OF MISSIONARIES

It is evident to the candid and competent observer that the Great War, far from displacing or belittling the missionary, has given him a larger function than ever. If a new spirit of brotherliness, a fresh sense of opportunity, and a freedom of self-expression are at hand in many parts of the world, these are not only due in great part to missionary idealism but also call for continuing missionary support and suggestion. The coming days will mean a vast expansion of missionary opportunity. At the same time they will clearly call for missionaries equipped to render a service of first-rate quality. They will involve increasing carefulness in the choice and guidance of missionary candidates, a greater stress upon the quality and range of their training, a readier recognition of the mutual responsibilities of boards and of candidates in the securing of adequate training. The Christian Church must make up its mind, not alone that it will need many more missionaries for the tasks of tomorrow and that these must be of unusual quality, but that it is bound to enable such men and women to prepare themselves for their world-ranging task with reasonable promptness and with real efficiency. The missionary's place of leadership makes it highly advisable that his preparation be as thorough as circumstances permit. He is not a mere worker who should be able to deal with ordinary emergencies, but a specialist on whose mastery of conditions may depend the character and value of the

achievements of a considerable area. He is the representative of Occidental character, culture, and faith, on whose wisdom and goodness may rest the dependable friendship and steady progress of a nation, and the leader on whose idealism may depend the proper leavening of its life at every point with a true Christian spirit. The missionary of the future days needs all the excellent qualities called for in the past and more. The question of his personality will be more than ever important.

I. Elements of Personality to Be Emphasized

The first-rate missionary serves his people in ways that cannot be fully outlined. His resourcefulness is ever being tested. Few, if any, acquisitions, even incidental ones, are wasted. Hence every responsible board secretary rejoices over evidences of the broad and varied as well as of the definitely thorough and essential training of each one of the missionaries he commissions. The missionary of the future, like his great predecessors in the field, will be as broadly cultured, as scientifically trained for his specific professional task, whether that be teaching, healing, preaching, administering, or organizing, and as well prepared through experience as may have been possible under the conditions which have shaped his studies. The Great War, with its readjustments and challenging opportunities, has given rise, however, to a situation in the world of today which seems to lay great emphasis upon six elements of personality which demand cultivation, if the missionary leadership of tomorrow is to rise to the creative level of the past. The first of these is

1. *An international mind.* Provincialism is always a bar to progress, whether exercised in a village, or at a capital, or in a mission area. It is religiously no less than politically belittling. It has been excusable and perhaps commendable when discovered to be the incidental accompaniment of an age of pioneering, which has de-

manded great, practically exclusive, devotedness to a district and its interests or to a single human group. It will not continue to be commendable in the new age which we are facing. It is pleasing to the traveler in mission areas to note the real enthusiasm of the true missionary for his adopted people and for their interests, political as well as social. He is quite as likely as a national to be partisan. He resents intensely the unfairness with which greater powers may deal with his lifelong friends and interests. His heart beats high over their national advancement or becomes chilled over their misfortunes. He not infrequently shares their prejudices and sympathizes with their attitudes toward other peoples, through the very completeness of his identification with them. Every traveler in Japan and China has had occasion to notice this natural and, from some aspects, rather noble characteristic. Yet it must yield to the demands of Christian internationalism, which seeks to promote friendliness among all nations. China, Japan, and Korea must eventually become in some sense a Far-Eastern unit. Only the missionary who can think soberly in terms of the Far East as a whole, whether his definite task is in Manchuria, Korea, China, Japan, or the Philippines, will be a wise and helpful leader during the next quarter century. His should be the sobering judgment which will temper, while supporting, the legitimate aspirations of his people for a self-ordered growth, and will assist them in viewing the world in its broad natural relationships of race, and temperament, and area. It is equally true that a Cape Town missionary should know all Africa, or a Madras missionary the Indian Empire.

The truly international mind will not think merely from the standpoint of each mission area as a whole; it faces the world of need and cultivates a habit of considering that whole world. The man or the nation which treats a neighbor fairly is prepared to think in friendly fashion of any man or every nation. So small and

closely packed will the whole world of the next few decades be that each country and people, however obscure, will be better able to take its share in the world work. More than ever, then, all over the missionary world there is an imperative need for missionaries with the international mind, who will use their rare and fine enthusiasm and their devotedness to their people to make them loyal to the larger goals and the loftier hopes of the age.

Along with this international mind should go

2. *A sense of brotherhood.* One of the real obstacles to missionary efficiency in the largest sense in past years has been a feeling of superiority, rarely confessed but really existent, which, through a prolonged retention of leadership, has operated to delay the process of establishing self-sustaining, self-directing churches on the field. This feeling is sometimes racial; more often it is based upon the assumed superiority of Occidental brains or ways. It is dangerous because it is very subtle, yet permeates the whole spirit of the one who experiences it. If excusable during the earlier stages of the missionary enterprise, it cannot endure much longer. Even in Korea, the country which has been a model of docile and apparently happy submission to missionary direction, the era of self-expression has been rather clearly reached. In other countries, even in Africa, the growth of a world-wide sense of democracy cannot fail to give rise to two clear-cut demands on the part of the nationals among whom a missionary works. They will desire to be treated as responsible beings capable of an intelligent self-expression and directed toward such freedom. They will also expect to be rated as a people at their best, precisely as we desire to be estimated on our highest levels of Anglo-Saxon achievement. Washington and Lincoln are an unfailing reserve for the patriotic North American who finds himself in an atmosphere of criticism. They embody our real ideals. History seems to show that no or-

ganized people on the earth, when given similar advantages to those which we enjoy, has failed to develop a strong type of personality worthy of a place in the human race. It will surely be the specific task of the next few decades to bring into the brotherhood of nations more than one people now unrecognized except as an object of compassionate regard. If this happens, it will be through missionary leadership, and, wherever it takes place, the responsible leaders will be those noble men and women who have risen completely above all prejudices or narrow ambitions and have gladly given themselves unwearyingly to the gracious task of developing their people to the utmost, who are ready to recognize the innate powers of the people, and who, finally, are able to rejoice sincerely when their own leadership becomes overshadowed by the distinct independence of the people they have trained. Nations under such enlightened Christian leadership may not be born in a day; the process may be slow; yet a permanent national Christian consciousness will come to the light and it will be permanent.

The missionary who helps to place a people on its feet must also have

3. *A socialized outlook.* Aggressive Protestant Christianity has too largely been satisfied in the past with the rescue of the individual rather than the regeneration of society. It has noted its triumphs numerically rather than intensively. This has characterized the missionary only as he has represented the home churches. They have been backward and narrow, rather than he. Today the Church at home, without minimizing the value of the regenerated individual, is becoming alert to its social mission and it welcomes the energetic sounding of the keynote of service on the field. The creation of a truly Christian society is its objective both at home and on missionary soil. It is saving families, communities, regions, and nations. It is giving its energies to the support of needed reforms of all kinds. Only one who realizes and

believes in this wide-ranging and practical definition of Christianity's task will be fitted to solve the missionary problems surely to be imposed by the coming social changes amid the peoples of the East.

So vast and complicated, however, will be these problems that they cannot be solved unless there is added to the characteristics of the future missionary

4. *A disposition toward cooperation.* The man or woman who must have his own way or be unhappy, who finds teamwork irksome, has always been a mission drawback. More than ever, in future days, will this be true. The steady progress in nation-making can be realized only through friendly cooperation. No group of men and women of one type of training or temperament, however large or important or resourceful it may be, can achieve this task as it must be carried through in the continents of Africa and Asia. Varied types of experience and of character are needed for such work. It will be far more worth while for many denominational groups, working in thorough concord and with an adequate organization, to be available for a nation than to give it over to a very large group of one single type. The missionary who is disposed to cooperate freely with the missionaries both of his own communion and of others is one who seeks to produce sound results in the most practical way, sinking his personal advancement or the glory of his denomination in the achievement of mission results. Such a man will rejoice in the successes of all others; he will readily yield his own advantage in order that the national Church may be the gainer; he will join heartily in the continuation committees or national councils or in the federated activities of each mission area; he will support all necessary measures for the wielding of missionary influence with the aggregated strength of all of the groups in any particular area.

In view of the plain lessons of history a missionary of the future must have

5. *A message with a clearly Christocentric emphasis.* The Gospel in its essential simplicity is the gospel that saves. Not theology but Jesus brings the world to real repentance. Those who follow His teachings and sincerely desire to exhibit His spirit are likely to fulfil every sort of law, for Jesus taught men how to live in godly fashion.

No one has ever been found too ignorant to be impressed by the spirit of Jesus or to catch something of His dominant idealism. Luke's story of the Christ is quite as well understood by the ignorant black of Africa as by the wealthy worshiper of North America. Few catch the niceties of theological distinctions, yet every human being can know in a very real sense the Jesus of history and experience. As time goes on the missionary message becomes simple rather than complex. It is Christocentric on the principle that he who knows Jesus Christ knows God, duty, and destiny and can take his place among the ranks of the army of the Lord.

In the future, however, the missionary will also have

6. *A friendly appreciation of the vital truths in non-Christian thinking and literature.* The better knowledge we possess today of non-Christian systems of belief and practice has tended to alter greatly the attitude of the Christian apologist to other historical religions. In place of absolute and contemptuous rejection as systems of religious thinking the fair-minded Christian recognizes them as embodying certain stages, more or less imperfect, in the progress of such thinking. By studying these historical religions and all manifestations of the religious instinct, in order to ascertain the elements in them which have ministered to the spiritual life of humankind, the missionary will be prepared both to enter sympathetically into the religious thinking of his people and to estimate fairly the definite contribution which Christianity can make to the noblest and most representative among them. Experience has shown that this friendly and appreciative

approach to a nation nominally devoted to a type of religion is more effective than a denunciatory attitude, while at the same time it is a more reasonable and Christlike approach.

The missionary thus ready to identify his life in broad fashion with his adopted people, able to clarify and internationalize their thinking and practice, willing to make himself a part of a movement, clear with regard to his own message, yet able to recognize and interpret spiritual values everywhere, will be a real and important factor in the decades of wonderful advancement before the Christian enterprise. We may now consider the training by which these qualities are given largest opportunity for development.

II. Courses of Training to Be Emphasized

The training of a missionary varies in some measure with the general type of service undertaken, whether general or medical, educational or technical, and with the missionary area to be entered. It has always been recognized, however, that a well-rounded, cultural education forms the desirable basis of missionary efficiency in all tasks and in every field. Stress has always been placed by representative boards upon the adequate professional or technical training of a missionary and upon the acquisition by every sort of worker of a religious knowledge which will make him a capable teacher of Christianity. In addition, each missionary has been encouraged to gain all possible acquaintance with the history, language, literature, religion, and manners of his adopted people.

No notable departure from these general standards will be called for in the days to come, yet certain courses of study and some lines of experience may be mentioned which will serve to develop the qualities noted above that are desirable in the missionary who is to serve well the coming age. Most of these will be gained or at least initiated at home. With the growing efficiency of train-

ing schools for each mission area, provision may be made at them also for some of the training under consideration.

1. *The history of non-Christian areas and of our relations with them.* During the past decade several institutions for higher learning in North America have offered courses in the history of China, Japan, and India which have proved of much value to prospective missionaries to these countries. Now that North America is becoming a factor in international affairs, these institutions and others are not unlikely to make wider provision of this sort. From the missionary standpoint it is the historical development of mission areas, such as the Near East, the British-Indian Empire, the Far East, and Latin America, that is most needed, rather than a presentation of the present-day problems of each area. It is China down to 1910, Japan to the end of the Meiji era, Latin America and India in their formative periods, which can be taught with entire success at home. For the portrayal of the passing situation the young missionary may well rely upon his year or more of field training.

Another matter of growing importance is the study of the history of the diplomatic relations between our country and various Oriental nations. Missionaries do not as a rule know much of international law or diplomatic history. They are thus often at a loss, particularly in these days, and will be even more so in the future under similar circumstances because they do not know how to answer charges of unfairness.

No one can become a convinced and convincing internationalist on theory alone, however Christian it may be. He must know the various peoples, their history, their character, their typical life, their possibilities. Such knowledge is of no less value to the missionary statesman of tomorrow than his acquaintance with American or continental development. It is the one sort of knowledge that fits him to develop a real sense of brotherhood and an international mind.

2. *The study of the statesmanship of missions.* Among the real hindrances to the most rapid and efficient development of a mission area are individualism and denominational pride. Each grows out of an over-emphasis upon denominational history, achievements, progress, and repute, and upon the individual rather than the social task of the missionary. They tend to center enthusiasm upon local progress rather than upon that of a nation. Community and national salvation depend upon teamwork among leaders and among missions. Such cooperation is not difficult for those who realize its significance and the local freedom which may and should accompany it. Those to whom the technical instruction of would-be missionaries is intrusted need to offer in the coming days not alone courses in the history of the world-wide mission enterprise and in the principles of missionary achievement, but also those which will stress very definitely the obligation and the outcome of such concerted mission action as that which is found at its best today in China, but is closely paralleled by that in India and with less efficiency in Latin America and in the Japanese Empire. The young missionaries of tomorrow ought to go to the field already convinced of the wisdom of working in close concert and prepared to assume the responsibilities involved. When, in one of the areas mentioned, several missionaries could assure the writer, a year ago, that provision for the study of the national language was a matter that must be carefully guarded by each mission group, since that group could direct the language instruction of its own young missionaries with greater efficiency than any other agency and since by such a method the segregation of these young missionaries from their own circle would be avoided, no argument is required to make it clear that some missionaries, even today, are singularly short-sighted. A course in missionary statesmanship, taken early, is, aside from its

other values, the best means of inoculating against such deadly narrowness.

Those who are to bear the varied and strenuous burdens of leadership in the coming days must also seek

3. *The acquisition of sound experience in forms of social and community service.* It has become a settled habit on the part of board secretaries to look upon some actual experience in teaching as almost a requisite for one who is commissioned as an educational missionary. A merely well-rounded cultural course of preparation is not considered sufficient. A similar demand for some social experience should, perhaps, be made upon most missionaries who are looked upon as giving promise of real leadership. Not every missionary can become a social expert. For responsible leaders of definite enterprises our boards will secure and commission actual experts. Such leaders will, however, be rendered impotent if they do not gain the sympathetic support of the missionary groups amidst and for whom they are working. A comparatively short course in applied economics or sociology with conducted, critical visits to typical institutions and enterprises would furnish the comprehension required to grasp a social need, to demand a social program, and to secure the adequate support. A much more thorough course of training would not be wasted, since many of the pressing problems of all non-Christian areas are sure to be increasingly of a social or economic order. No one can stress too greatly the value of political economy and social science in application to modern life.

Finally, a fresh emphasis may wisely be given to

4. *The study of the religions of the world and of Christianity in a friendly but scientific comparison.* The fundamental question at issue for the coming missionary is not the range, history, or thinking, or even the practice, of a non-Christian religion, regarded as a group of interesting data, but the recognition of the vital, directive elements of each religion with a view to exhibiting

Christianity as possessed of all those elements and more. The process of recognition, if thorough and fairly conducted, will prevent a wholesale condemnation of non-Christian beliefs and will stimulate an untechnical, Christocentric appraisal of Christianity. One will thus be prepared to interpret Christianity to sincere, intelligent followers of another faith simply, fairly, and in friendly fashion, quite as our Lord Himself would have done.

5. *A more vital study of the various ways in which religion may take hold of life.* Sympathetic as one may be with a social ministry, it cannot be denied that there is such a thing as individualism. Mankind cannot be run into a mould and be dealt with wholesale. Each people moulded by a historical religion has developed certain forms of approach, an understanding of which should be significant for the earnest missionary, giving him a suggestion of method and message for that people.[1] Above all, however, a fresh study of Christianity itself should be emphasized, both historically and in the light of today, in its growing mastery of world conditions and its clearer use of approved methods. One might mention also the importance of a study of the value for one's own life of the relations of others.

Such suggestions as these must be considered in the light of the unquestionable fact that missionary genius must not be fettered. All schemes are partial. No training will help some candidates; others need but little. We can but set forth these ideals and methods in the hope that they will prove suggestive to those who have the heavy responsibility of discovering, selecting, and supervising the training of the splendid students who will develop into our future missionaries. A missionary must be, most of all, a real man, sincere, fair-minded, thoughtful, optimistic, tactful, persistent, a good mixture of the

[1] Compare the lines of approach developed by the Board of Missionary Preparation in the reports on Hinduism, Islam, and Confucianism.

idealism which must characterize God's ambassador to religiously minded men with the practicality which will face the varied problems of the future and master them in manful fashion. Such a missionary can become in turn a valued friend, a community leader, a healer of diseased conditions, an advance agent of civilization, an emancipator from age-long evils, a minister of Christ, an interpreter of religion, a maker of peace, a builder of nationality, and a forerunner of democracy. Far from being displaced by the war, he has been given a larger function.

CHAPTER XVII

RECONSIDERATION OF MISSIONARY METHODS IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEW SITUATION

Some foreign mission fields lying within the war zone have been immediately and profoundly affected by the war; others have been so remote from the direct influence of the war as to remain almost untouched by immediate contacts. But when changes due to new conditions are being effected in all other activities, no mission field in any part of the world can hope to escape change in mission methods. Since the world's mission fields so differ with reference to their proximity to the war zones, and since neither missions nor mission boards have yet had time to readjust their thinking clearly to new conditions, any treatment of the subject of the reconsideration of missionary methods must be general in its character and deal largely with the broadest principles.

Missionary methods will be modified at the following points at least:

I. Interpreting the Missionary Message

The war has emphasized the fact that the missionary message must be essentially spiritual. Life and thought need to be readjusted to the law of God. The Gospel of Jesus Christ brings to the world the divine power necessary to this adjustment. Human efforts to secure this result have failed. A confused and shattered world cannot afford to experiment when it is possible for it to deal with certainties, and it is ready as never before to permit a demonstration of the power of the Spirit of God to

effect changes in the lives both of individuals and of communities.

Not only must the interpretation of the message be distinctly spiritual, but it must be clearly unified. The gospel message is more than a bare announcement of doctrine or the declaration of a creed; it is the manifestation of a life. Missionaries are sent not only to speak, but to be and to do. The missionary is not only the messenger, but he is the message. Non-Christian soldiers have come out of some mission fields to gain a wholly new conception of Christianity through their experiences in the war. In their own land they had known this religion as a system of truth which the missionaries were attempting to substitute for the native beliefs. At the front they saw it in action, through men and women wholly engaged in unselfish service. Back in their villages they had heard formulas of Christianity, but here they saw it in the laboratory. This is not a reflection on the self-sacrificing service that has been performed by missionaries. It is only a note of emphasis upon the necessity for so unifying the gospel message that all the blessings of the life of Christ may flow through missions into the lives of those who are being evangelized. No part of the message, evangelistic, educational, medical, or social, ought ever to be considered complete apart from all the other parts, nor one part emphasized at the expense of any other part.

II. The Delivery of the Message

The war has taught clearly the value of attention to the method of "delivering" in such a manner as to eliminate waste and insure maximum results from every operation. Mission forces cannot afford to overlook what has been attained along this line in military and civil organizations during the war.

1. *Evangelism.*

Attention has been called to the fact that in the war work oral propaganda was a powerful and effective

method of publicity. In recent years there has been a tendency in most mission fields to substitute, to a greater or less extent, other methods or forms of missionary activity for direct preaching of the gospel message. The large results obtained through oral address and personal appeal during the war work campaigns should reaffirm the belief of the missionary in the wisdom of his Lord who sent him forth to "preach the Gospel" and to "witness." A close study of this subject could scarcely fail to bring about a revival in the mission field of the direct preaching of the Gospel as the prime method of approach to the people.

Great new lessons may also be learned from the use of the printed page and of pictures and posters during the war—lessons so important that they are given detailed treatment in a succeeding chapter.[1] Undreamed-of results could be obtained if Christian forces were as completely organized for the teaching of the individual as were the campaign forces in the war work. So thoroughly was this work done that rarely could a man say that he did not respond to his country's call because he did not know, or had not been asked.

2. *Education.*

While the changes in methods of missionary education will vary greatly in different fields, it may be said that invariably the modifications will be towards higher standards. In most fields such modifications must be rapid and radical. The governments of mission lands are deeply concerned about this matter of education. The Government of India is conducting a thorough review of the educational situation in that country. A commission composed of British and Indian representatives has been in America visiting certain institutions, and is proceeding to India to make representation to the Government after

[1] Chapter XVIII, "The War and the Literary Aspects of Missions."

having thoroughly studied the subject there. Before the war there was a proposal among leaders in China to have a deputation of outstanding Christian men from America visit China with a view, among other things, to making recommendations with reference to the educational situation. The territories that are passing from the control of one power to another as a result of the war will have a readjustment of their educational policies. These changes are not wholly in the future but are already taking place. In some cases the changes effected or proposed radically affect the opportunities or methods of imparting religious instruction in the schools.

The situation calls for a decided facing of the facts on the part of the societies concerned. It calls for a clear and definite statement of the functions and objects of a mission school. There must be safeguarded the rights of the school to impart instruction so vitally Christian as to serve in the training of the youth of the Christian community, and so positive as adequately to set the Gospel before non-Christians.

In a review of the educational situation by mission bodies the matter of the varieties of instruction to be afforded must receive considerable attention. It is no longer possible to satisfy the demands and the needs by supplying a single type of school, expecting it to turn out boys trained and equipped for life in any sphere. Missions must be ready to supply the new demand for industrial, technical, and professional training such as will prepare men for the more highly organized life in those lands today.

Wherever there is government control with a government standard, the mission system must be made to equal or approximate that standard. For too long in most fields the mission school has continued to be a bare occasion for the teaching of Christian truth. If vital Christian truth is not imparted, the school should not exist under the name of mission school. But while imparting

vital Christian truth the mission school cannot afford to conduct its departments of secular instruction according to any but the highest standards. A low grade of school with slipshod methods of instruction and inadequate equipment will recommend but weakly the religious teaching of which it is the medium.

In probably every mission there must be a very marked advance in the material equipment. The war has made manifest the possibilities for service of institutions that are adequately equipped and the possibility of securing such institutions where they are needed. The war has shown that where thousands of dollars have been appropriated in the past for poorly equipped and inefficient institutions, tens of thousands are available to provide ones well equipped and efficient. It has also proved that it pays well to be lavish in expenditure for the training of leaders. New ideals for educational systems have opened new possibilities for service such as may be a challenge to the best type of men.

The interchange of representatives of the Allied countries during the war suggests the great significance that a similar plan of interchange of deputations of Christians between American and non-Christian countries might have for the cause of missions. Already deputations are organized for the study of the educational needs of several of the mission fields and the situation with reference to the education of women. These deputations will doubtless be followed by others from America and Europe. It has been suggested that special attention should be given also to securing delegations of Oriental Christians to this country. Much might be accomplished by such interchange of deputations in many departments of the work, but particularly in the educational department.

3. *Medical Work.*

The lessons we have learned from the medical corps

of the army as to the primary importance of sanitation and preventive rather than remedial measures suggest to medical missions the desirability of directing its efforts not simply to hospital work but also to measures for combating the prevalent plagues and epidemics in Eastern lands. While much of this work must be carried on with difficulty, as it so generally crosses the customs and prejudices of the people, it is certainly a great part of giving the medical message in its fulness to the non-Christian world.

All that has been said above with reference to the importance of material equipment and staff for educational institutions must be recognized as equally true for hospitals and dispensaries. Medical work, again, like educational, must be looked upon, not simply as an adjunct to missionary work, but as a vital part of the missionary message.

4. *Social Service.*

The war has revealed what great things are possible in helping men through social contacts. Perhaps more that will be of service to the Christian worker among foreign people may be learned from this than from any other line of war activity.

Not only is it desirable that there should be an extension in mission work of such methods of reaching men as those used by the Y. M. C. A. and kindred organizations during the war, but it is necessary that in the adopting of such methods they should be adapted to the conditions and needs of the people among whom they are being applied. There is a call for real ingenuity on the part of those seeking to introduce such methods into mission work. In many cities the great increase in the industrial population and the rising self-consciousness of labor present an almost unparalleled opportunity for Christian social service.

The setting of such social methods into operation seems

to be particularly challenging and promising among the women of Oriental lands. Here women are coming into a new heritage and need to be taught much concerning the wise use of their new liberty. Further, with the new freedom and desire for social contacts, they are going to find centers of social life somewhere. It is our opportunity to afford such centers in the Christian Church, and that at the very time when the character of their future social relationships is in a formative stage. During the war some of the women missionaries in India found an excellent opportunity to form groups of women of different religions to undertake together the various sorts of war work. Such methods may easily be applied along lines of social service.

Not only has the war revealed what can be done by approaching men through social relations, but it has emphasized in the minds of many the potential equality of races. It should no longer be possible for the Christian missionary in any land to take the position that he is racially superior to those whom he is attempting to reach with his gospel message. This doctrine of democracy, which has become so widely disseminated throughout the world, must drive the missionary to find some method of interpreting and applying the Gospel that will prove to those to whom he preaches that he does not regard himself a member of a conquering race, but that he is a servant of the "Servant of Men."

III. The Development of the Indigenous Church

On every hand are being emphasized the rights of peoples to determine their own forms of government and development. More than ever it will be necessary for the missionary to adopt such methods as will enable him to render the highest aid to the growing Church, without interfering with its liberty in directing its own affairs and in assuming its own responsibilities.

In some lands the situation between certain missions

and the indigenous churches they had planted had already become acute before the war and radical readjustment had been effected. Now in almost every mission field in the Near East and Far East and in parts of Africa the spirit of nationalism is manifesting itself in a sensitiveness with reference to the relations between the foreign missions and the indigenous Church. At this point the missionary has an opportunity to make an invaluable contribution to the adjustment of the peoples of the East to permanent foundations of democracy. The missionary is of course obligated to teach loyalty to the existing government. But whatever his political beliefs may be, and whatever his attitude toward the nationalist movements, he has an opportunity of granting to the Church the largest possible autonomy, demonstrating the fact that the Church is seeking no temporal power and has no political objective. He has the opportunity to adopt such methods in the development of the Church as will enable native Christian thinkers to work out for themselves the application of the Scripture teachings concerning democracy and to apply them, when sanely worked out, to their own institutions. Such a method gives answer to the Brahmin who said, "Yes, India wants your Christ, but it will have none of your Christianity." It brings to him the Christ, with entire freedom to follow His teachings while building up an indigenous Christian social order, and developing a political system adapted to new world conditions.

IV. Administration

1. *Thorough Surveys of the Fields.*

The Church has found during the war that it has abundant material resources to enable it to go in and evangelize the world now. It is the duty of each board and each mission to discover just what the needs of its fields are and to state them so definitely and simply as to make possible a detailed campaign for the occupation of the fields. Only through such a process of survey may a

mission or a board hope to escape disastrous mistakes in the distribution of men and in the placing of institutions. Such a survey must have a pronounced effect upon the selection, training, and distribution of missionaries. It will immediately increase the confidence with which both board and mission will go forward with the work of expansion and occupation.

2. *The Distribution of Missionaries.*

New conditions in the field demand new methods in the selection and distribution of missionaries by mission boards. The needs in the field must be specifically stated and men then sent definitely to fill them. The call from the field must be so specific as to enable the board to select and send out men specially prepared for the particular line of work.

3. *Cooperation.*

New conditions call insistently for cooperation of agencies and unification of effort. The Allied victory is an object lesson that missionary forces cannot afford to pass over without the most careful study. Few causes have tended more to the development of marked individualism than that of foreign missions. The day has come when the missionary must be ready to sink his individual notions and interests in the common cause. No longer can men afford to think in the terms of little segments and divisions of the work. Each man must extend his thinking to comprise the whole and the thinking of all must be joined for the perfecting of the whole. Men must not think in villages or in tribes only, but in continents. Some excellent beginnings have been made in this respect, but they must be developed by the missionaries of every land.

Notable among the instances of cooperation that have been developed upon a large scale are the organizations effected by Dr. Mott in 1912-13 in India, China, and Japan. In India was organized the National Missionary

Council, a body representative of the societies working there. In China and Japan were formed Continuation Committees composed of prominent missionaries and leaders in the Christian communities. These cooperative bodies have been in existence a sufficient length of time to afford a demonstration of their value. Although their work has but begun, they have already served to do much toward establishing uniform standards, eliminating the overlapping of efforts, undertaking common tasks, and promoting a general feeling of sympathy, good will, and mutual confidence. The extension of this system of cooperation by the Edinburgh Continuation Committee has been interrupted by the war. It is to be hoped that it will now be vigorously resumed.

Not only must this cooperation obtain among the societies at work in a given field but between the societies and the indigenous Church. A much larger place will be taken by native leaders immediately in many lands, and it will be a wise mission method that looks to the enlarging of that place and adding to its responsibility and authority.

The shortening of world distances, the training of American people to world thinking, and increased financial resources should make possible also a much freer interplay of the forces at the home base and those on the field. To secure the best results there must be adequate and frequent visitation on the part of home administrative officers and there must be some form of true representation of the forces in the field constantly in personal touch with the home board.

4. *Finances.*

There should be a new method in estimating. It should take into account, not the amount that has been received in the past nor what may be expected from a given constituency, but the actual needs in the field to carry on the work efficiently. Only in this way can a mission or a

board hope to get before the Church at home a knowledge of the real need. This method should be followed until the limits of the power of the Church at home to give have been reached.

In expenditure, more money should go to substantial advance and less to experiment. This may be accomplished by a careful and comprehensive study of what has been done by different missions along given lines of expenditure. There is waste in continually training men by experiment when experiments have already been made and men already trained. All knowledge gained by any mission should be made available for every mission, and experts should be developed in every mission where economy could be thus effected.

Accounting must be made more carefully than ever. In view of the great funds that are being spent and the vast increase of such funds that is likely to take place soon, too scrupulous attention cannot be given to insuring such accounting as will secure the greatest possible confidence in the minds of those who contribute. A cheap method of accounting may not be an economical one. Any system that is necessary to insure confidence cannot be too expensive.

5. *The Use of Furloughs.*

The way in which officers were brought back from France to train recruits and stimulate public interest suggests the potential value of the missionary furlough.

Some method for the use of the furlough should speedily be discovered that will eliminate the waste to the work that now results from the use or abuse of most furloughs. There should be adequate provision for the physical examination of the missionary and for any medical treatment that may be necessary. There should be such provision made for a home for the missionary as to relieve him of the embarrassment of living with relatives or burdening himself with debt while in this country.

There should be well wrought out plans for training the furloughed missionary in deputational work. There should be provision made for utilizing his service in the best way possible in cultivating the home Church. There should be available the best advice procurable as to what line of study he should follow while at home and funds to enable him to take up the most helpful courses. A method that will insure proper use of furloughs will increase the personal power of the missionary, prepare him for larger usefulness on his return to the field, and enable him to intensify the interest of the Church at home in the cause of missions.

V. A General "Speeding Up"

What after-war conditions seem to call for most insistently is a method of general "speeding up" in every department and operation. The war has opened up undreamed-of opportunities. It has discovered untold resources. It has put at the disposal of the Church new machinery and new methods. The time has come for immediate and boundless expansion. The world is moving at a tremendous speed and the forces of missions must be ready to keep pace with unwavering faith, undaunted courage, unflagging zeal, and untiring patience.

A "speeding up" on the field will not be easy of accomplishment. Most mission fields lie in lands where the law of tradition is stronger than the moral law. The whole atmosphere is one of conservatism and almost invariably has its reaction on the missionary who is surrounded by it. Mission methods, mission rules, ecclesiastical forms and usages have been wrought out in fierce fires of experience. They have been proved good and serviceable. It is only for the ones who have made them and proved them, to realize that a new day may come with new situations, new demands, and new perils, and that for such a day there must be new methods and new codes. It is the bounden duty of every board or society at home to keep

its missionaries informed as to progress in every field and to watch for the opportunity to cooperate in any advance suggested by a mission.

Ten years ago the proper method for the itinerating missionary in some districts was to live in a tent transported from place to place by means of camels, at the rate of two and one-half miles an hour. Today in those same districts itinerating is accomplished with a light motor car, traveling ten times as fast as the camels and enabling the missionary to do considerably more than twice as much as he could by the old method, also to do it better and with less hardship and fatigue to himself. This case of "speeding up" adds to the budget demanded of the home Church, but everyone acquainted with the facts will recognize it as the true economy. It is only an example of what is called for all along the line.

Finally, let us recognize that it is the missionaries on the field who must reconstruct missionary methods, evolving such as will serve the new day. It is for the Church at home to cooperate to the utmost of its powers in making these methods possible and effective.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE WAR AND THE LITERARY ASPECTS OF MISSIONS

The most striking contribution of the war to the literary outlook of religion comes from the recognition of the printed word as a major factor in winning the war. Incredible quantities of printed matter were issued and incredible pains spent in preparing and placing it. Every form was used: newspapers and periodicals, books, pamphlets, posters, and films; and every method of publication: sale, gift, loan, book trade, post office, libraries, colporteurs, and merchandise delivery. Aeroplane distribution of tracts to affect enemy morale was the most picturesque form, and posters one of the most obvious and most effective.

Verbal methods of beginning and ending war, of keeping up the civilian war spirit, and even of conducting military operations, were, of course, no new thing. Verbal attacks upon enemy nerve were practised at Megiddo and at Troy by hurling threats and boasts orally across walls or spaces too wide for javelins. Printed aids to recruiting and other war purposes have also been used in all modern wars, as has also censorship, which is simply the negative aspect of printed propaganda. What was new in this propaganda was, first, the conscious recognition of the fact that verbal methods of changing and strengthening men's minds are a direct factor in practical affairs; and, second, the like recognition of the fact that operations had now outgrown merely oral methods altogether and depended largely upon print. By organized methods, such as the four-minute men and the war-aims Chautauqua, large numbers were still reached orally, but

these were only a drop in the bucket compared with the vast number of persons, soldier and civilian, now involved. Where millions were concerned in former wars, billions were concerned in this. Moreover, the essence of propaganda is in the repetition of impression—the insistent use of words to induce hostile or sluggish men to change their attitude and join in an achievement. It was alleged that one Liberty Bond drive was organized on the basis of insuring that every business man, on his way to business each day, should meet the invitation to buy thirty-four times and in as many different forms. Only print could meet this situation.

The significance of all this for the religious outlook, and especially for foreign missions, lies in the fact that Christianity is itself a propaganda and foreign missions the aspect of it that is aimed at every individual in the world.

The method of Christian propaganda as of all propaganda is words—the method of peaceful revolution through the use of words to change men's minds. This Jesus set forth not as a figure, but as a fact: the words that He speaks are spirit and life. The natural law, which is the key to human nature as evolution is of living nature or gravitation of lifeless nature, is the law of verbal communication. The word is obviously the invisible tie which binds persons together, the means by which all social groups are formed or maintained. Modern sociology notes that this is true by virtue of the fact that it establishes like-mindedness. The word is the inevitable instrument of like-mindedness, the object which has been evolved for the purpose of producing it. The word and like-mindedness are aspects of the same matter. The word is man's chief distinction from the brute, and makes possible the more highly organized group, namely, society. Man, in short, is man because he is social and he is social because verbal. The word makes the difference between the pack and society.

The significance of the printed word in Christian propaganda lies, first, in the fact that as a world mission Christianity aims to reach every person on earth; second, in the fact that the task requires repeated impression; and, possibly above all, in the fact that by its fixed form it furnishes a far more exact like-mindedness than is possible to oral tradition, which tends to rapid variation. It may fairly be said that the chief hope that the nations may yet come to one mind as to living together in freedom and peace, cooperating in good faith, is the fact that the Person of Jesus Christ has a fixed form of expression in the printed New Testament.

The printed word is essential in matters of social change involving many persons because oral methods soon break down with numbers. Print is the natural and only method of dealing with a very large number of minds. In a world movement oral and written methods are insufficient. It is probable that the present work of missions falls short at no point so much as at this.

In the application of print to the problem of uniting all mankind in the commonwealth of God, under the headship of Jesus Christ, the problem divides itself into literature for Christians and non-Christians, for home missions and foreign missions. Under foreign missions it divides again, as in the war, into literature for home activities and literature for overseas work. The home problem of foreign missions involves getting and keeping general interest in the work, recruiting for the field, training missionary workers, missionary research. The foreign problem involves keeping up the missionary morale, the work of conversion, and auxiliary work, such as schools and medical and social work.

All these matters have their special literary needs, but the elements of the problem are similar in all and concern first, material; second, authorship; third, multiplication of copies; fourth, distribution to users; and fifth, getting the material read with interest.

I. Material

The material for the foreign field is fundamentally, chiefly, and always the Bible and books to interest in and explain its teachings. Following this, and especially since the war, there is need of a literature on live social, economic, and political matters, fearless, straight, and written with a direct view to the teaching of Jesus Christ. Again, there is a demand for literature of the more popular kind, such as fiction and poetry, with a Christian atmosphere.

For home use the material used is chiefly inspirational or instructional for the sake of inspiration, and the chief weakness of present methods lies in forgetting the distinction between inspiration and education, learning, scholarship, or research. There is a large modern demand for the right kind of educational literature for mission study classes, a matter which has been more or less attended to by the Missionary Education Movement, but which should be more definitely considered by missionary agencies on the side of propaganda.

In the home field, too, there is a need for fiction and poetry that present a definitely Christian point of view. The plain fact is that the bulk of the literature which forms the customary reading of society does not represent religion as it is lived in Christian society. This fact reacts on the foreign field. Sunday school books have been failures in meeting this situation, as regards non-Christian readers, on account of their low average literary quality, although very valuable indeed for conserving Christian atmosphere.

Another line of publications, which, though of lesser range, is of the utmost importance, is textbooks for missionaries adapted to the special work of the particular fields, as well as to the work in general—for example, to the linguistic, economic, social, political, and hygienic conditions of the various fields.

II. Authorship

There is a repeated demand from the missionary field for the best brains and learning in the task of authorship. This is in the line of war experience, where the very highest quality was volunteered and used. Emphasis needs to be laid on securing writers who are trained in a sympathetic knowledge of the literatures, as well as the languages, of the countries to be reached, and who have ability to adapt themselves to the manner of thought of the natives and to graded needs.

This calls for those who study the art of writing as an art, students of native journalism, students of the art of fiction, poetry, and style in general, and especially native writers. It is only through the agency of native authors that we shall ever produce an adequate or effective indigenous literature, yet it is in this aspect of missionary work that, in some countries at least, the influence of the native Church is smallest. The best guides in this whole matter are the various surveys of Christian literature for various fields, now in progress or completed.

III. Multiplication of Copies

From the standpoint of Christianity as a propaganda, the printing press is the key to the problem of world organization in the Person of Jesus Christ. For practical mission purposes the press includes all forms of duplication or multiplication of copies, mimeographs, photostats, and the like, as well as the printing press.

The problem of printing concerns both speed and appearance. Many missionary reports lay stress on the need of attention to mechanical details of type and paper, make-up, margins, and even to the smell of ink. It is well known by librarians and booksellers that in the effort to get readers the appearance of a book often makes a great difference. Expert attention is therefore called for as to matters of economy and appearance. A first-

class traveling expert who could give counsel to the various printing agencies on the field would save much and add much.

IV. Distribution of Publications

There are three chief methods for getting literature to readers: sale, gift, and loan. The characteristic instruments corresponding to these are the book shop, the post office, and the library. The method of gift has been deprecated. Most missionaries favor sale over gift. On the other hand, sale has its risk of a suspicion of attempted gain—as the Y. M. C. A. experience in France shows. Somewhere between sale and gift comes the library, which, in lending, gives ideas, but not material.

It is strongly to be questioned, in the light of war experience, whether the policy against free distribution of religious literature should not be definitely reconsidered. War propaganda made unlimited use of such distribution. Promoters of mining stock and other doubtful investments find the method incredibly effective. The fact is that the post office has become the great world organizer by affording a secure method for the exchange of verbal communications. As free distribution is admittedly a very expensive method, particular care should be taken to make the literature distributed as effective as possible. Nothing could be more wasteful than circulating freely material which is not attractive enough to be read.

In the matter of sales something could probably be done to secure an increase through an expert inspector and adviser of native bookstores and the use of cooperative methods at home. The best way of increasing sales, however, is to produce literature of intrinsic value which will be purchased by those who are potentially interested. Enough experiments have already been made to show that propagandist literature can be circulated so as to maintain itself financially. The best minds need to be

put at this task. Literature for free distribution is gotten out at great cost to the producer; literature for sale which is not satisfactory is not only costly to the consumer but ultimately hinders the sale of really valuable contributions.

The factor of libraries appears, from a study of reports and the indexes to missionary periodicals, to be the most neglected of all factors of distribution. In secular educational work at the present time this factor is recognized and used on an enormous scale. Schools of all grades are provided with appropriate libraries and much organized attention is given to them. Every village is supposed to have its public library to aid the schools and, more especially, to afford continuous opportunity for growth to those over school age. This function is also recognized, more or less, in ordinary religious education at home, in the various aspects of the religious education of the layman, the training of religious teachers, preachers, and missionaries, and the training in theological learning and missionary research, but these libraries, on the whole, fall far behind the secular library in their equipment, methods, and general efficiency. This is particularly true of the missionary aspects of these libraries and the special missionary libraries, which are hardly more than a symbol of what might and should be done. This statement, however, applies not so much to the books available, or the efficiency of what staff there is, as to the means of making the books available as compared with secular libraries. An overwhelming improvement is called for in this matter all along the line of lay education, ministerial training, missionary training, and research.

In the foreign field the case is still worse. A few bookrooms are listed in the tables of statistics, and every now and then some individual missionary is found pleading or working for a library in Persia, or in Siam, or elsewhere, but, while there are many organized presses and

organized societies for printing, and selling, and even giving away literature, there seems to be no systematic effort in this direction of libraries. The nature of the case calls for the eventual establishment of lending libraries of Christian literature in every village of the world—nothing less.

War experience suggests, too, once more, the possibilities of poster propaganda—a method certainly used by the enemies of Christianity, notably in Boxer days, but looked at askance in general by Christian workers. The effectiveness of the war posters, however, was so unmistakable that we need to inquire whether we ought not to make a more extensive use of the methods that appeal to the eye. Here a field lies open, almost unentered, before the Christian artist and cartoonist.

The poster, however, requires special talent and is so costly that it is of little use to attempt propaganda by this means unless there are funds sufficient to carry it on in an extensive way. Timidity in spending for poster publicity is worse than useless. Furthermore, this propaganda must spring from intimate knowledge of the mentality of those for whom it is designed and must in a true sense spring from the people. A foreigner can hardly know a language well enough to put his ideas effectively into poster form.

V. Getting Literature Read

This problem is one with which the modern library, bookseller, and teaching world are wrestling, more or less successfully, through methods of advertising, the preparation of select and annotated lists, and other devices. Some work in this direction has been done by the religious education movement, and through such lists as those prepared by the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook in its Bibliography on the War and Religion, but, on the whole, this field is undeveloped.

Negative propaganda or *censorship* was applied during the war more generally, effectively, and unscrupulously than ever before in the modern history of mankind. The world has learned as never before how to suppress information and mislead impressions, while it is still true that such suppression and misleading is the greatest menace to the human soul and human liberty. The supreme offense against human society is this "taking away the keys of knowledge" and "holding down the truth in unrighteousness." This lesson learned in the war is already being applied in missionary lands and missionary operations are seriously threatened by it.

One of the most significant aspects of the whole matter of the use of literature in bringing in the Kingdom of Christ is that it lends itself to cooperation better than almost any other aspect of missionary work. There might well be:

1. Cooperation in authorship.
2. Cooperation in the organized supervision of printing and bookselling methods.
3. Cooperation, on a great scale, in distribution.
4. Cooperation among libraries of theological research.
5. Cooperative effort to modernize practice in the matter of libraries in English for missionaries and missionary converts and to secure vernacular public libraries and reading rooms.
6. Cooperation of Bible, tract, and literature societies for the organization of a definite, world-wide propaganda of literature.
7. Cooperation in literary propaganda for special religious activities of a non-sectarian character, for example, united prayer.

CHAPTER XIX

MISSIONS AND AMERICAN BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL MEN ABROAD

It has long been recognized that the character, interests, and activities of Western business and professional men in the Orient have a great effect, either for good or for ill, upon the success of the missionary enterprise. This subject, already so important, is likely to become increasingly so in the near future because of the great trade expansion which seems imminent after the war.

The subject has two aspects, both of which we shall do well to consider—the efforts which may be made in the various countries to bring both business and professional men into sympathetic contact with the missionaries with a view to improving existing relations, and the efforts which may be made at the home base to give American business and professional men, before they leave America, a sympathetic understanding of the objectives of Christian missions.

I. On the Field

In spite of the gulf that often has existed between the missionaries on the one hand and American business and professional men in the various mission fields on the other, we need to recognize that there are certain factors which in some centers at least are bringing the two groups together. Where they are being brought together in other ways than through chance friendships it is generally one of the following agencies which is responsible: the foreign churches which have been established in such cities as Manila, Tokyo, Shanghai, and the larger port cities of the world and in some other commercial centers;

private schools where the children of all foreigners may be educated together, such as now exist in Shanghai and Tokyo; clubs and other social organizations; military training squads, as in Peking; business transactions. It is, of course, obvious that such facilities for personal contact are uncommon and perhaps even impossible except in the larger centers of population.

The American missionary bodies will do well to recognize the union church and the private school under Christian leadership as most important helps to missionary work. They offer the most favorable meeting ground for all classes of foreigners and go far toward uniting otherwise separated groups in a common interest and helping them to appreciate one another. Such churches and schools also afford invaluable demonstrations in the non-Christian world of the character and quality of Christian religious and educational ideals. Without such demonstrations, or with the religious and even ethical indifference which often results from the lack of such institutions, the missionary is severely handicapped in his work. The necessity of extending and greatly strengthening both the union church and the schools for foreign children cannot be overemphasized.

If there is to be a mutual understanding and helpfulness between the missionaries and other groups of their fellow-countrymen in the Orient, it is obvious that they must mingle in social intercourse. The misunderstanding between them has been due not only to the business man's lack of contacts with missions, but also to his lack of contacts even with the missionaries in ordinary ways. The social life of foreigners, including many of the missionaries, is very well developed in some of the larger cities of Asia, yet leaves much to be desired almost everywhere. Even where facilities for social intercourse exist, the missionary is usually restrained from participating in them by lack of financial ability. Social life in foreign cities, even when acceptable from a moral point of view,

is usually conducted on a scale of expense which puts participation in it quite beyond the reach of most missionaries. Increased salaries for missionaries and increased allowances for use in entertaining other foreigners are very essential to the promotion of a desirable social life in foreign colonies in the non-Christian world.

In almost all foreign communities where both missionaries and other foreigners live there are factions both of the missionary and the non-missionary groups between whom mutual understanding and sympathy are all but impossible. The character and habits of life of some foreigners in non-Christian lands are such as to exclude them from wholesome, self-respecting social life. The missionaries rightly regard such countrymen as a serious handicap to the extension of Christianity, and the latter, possibly, feel that the missionaries' presence is a standing reproach and a protest against their manner of living. On the other hand, some missionaries have not been selected with so much care as to cultural qualifications as are many business men. As a result, mutual distrust and antipathy exist, which will disappear as the quality of both business man and missionary is improved by more careful selection.

The business contacts of the missionary with the other members of the foreign community are almost without exception good and should be most carefully guarded. It is obvious, of course, that acceptable standards of business practice in Western commercial houses in the East are absolutely essential to the largest success of missionary work. It may not be amiss to point out also that too much care cannot be exercised in conducting the business affairs of the mission in a thoroughly businesslike fashion.

It would be unfair to ignore the fact that in very many cases individual business and professional men are now rendering great help to the missionaries, both by personal and by financial support, and it will be recalled that at

the outbreak of the war several very large American commercial organizations rendered invaluable assistance to the missionaries and to mission boards by offering commercial credits and even the necessities of life when, for the time being, the credit organization of the world was nearly paralyzed. Nor ought one to ignore the friendly interest and unofficial assistance rendered to the missionary work by numberless consular and diplomatic officials.

There is a very large and almost unexplored field of cooperation between the missionary and commercial agencies in non-Christian lands which, while possible, is exposed to the very grave danger that missionary work might acquire a commercial motive or might at least appear to be commercialized. The missionary, in helping a community to achieve new standards of living, is likewise creating new markets. Not infrequently the missionary finds that in his efforts to lift the economic status of his converts he is very greatly assisted by the introduction of devices, machinery, and other products of Western industrial life. The work of the missionary would be greatly facilitated if the non-Christian world could be introduced to many forms of labor-saving machinery, electrical devices, agricultural instruments and practices, sanitation, facilities for transportation and communication, etc., which it is the business of the commercial representative to promote. The general principles upon which more extended cooperation along these lines should proceed, in such a way as not to expose the missionary work in fact or even in appearance to the charge of personal or nationalistic selfish motives, have yet to be worked out. Such questions must at present be settled on their merits in individual cases. The way for full cooperation would become easy if only the business world would definitely accept the Christian doctrine that industry and commerce must be conducted primarily not for profit but as forms of service for human welfare.

Both the missionary and the non-missionary resident in non-Christian lands have usually taken with them from America notions of the separation of evangelism from commerce and industry which are incorrect and are a great handicap to the establishment of the most helpful relations in the lands to which they go. The missionary often has too little understanding of the relation between the establishment of self-supporting, self-propagating Churches and the lifting of the economic life of the people. The business man, on the other hand, often fails to recognize the social significance of the missionary work, and the essential part which he himself must have in the accomplishment of the missionary purpose.

II. At the Home Base

In seeking a solution of this difficulty, are we not led directly into that larger and now transcending task of defining the purpose of industry and commerce as agencies of the Kingdom of God? So long as the great body of Christian believers in Christian lands tacitly accepts the unchristian practice of conducting commerce and industry primarily for profit rather than for human service, it is all but impossible to relate helpfully to each other in non-Christian lands the opposing purposes of the business man and the missionary. If the purpose of the extension of foreign trade is to increase the riches of America, with primary consideration for the maximum of profits and subordinate consideration for the welfare of the non-Christian world, the Christian missionary can safely have no part nor lot in the purpose of the business man. If, on the other hand, both missionary and business man enter the non-Christian world with the same broad purpose to serve the people and help them to standards of higher and more efficient living, then the two may walk hand in hand. Both may be missionaries of Christ.[1]

[1] This subject is so important that the following chapter is devoted to a more detailed consideration of it.

We are thus faced with another side of what is now the largest and most urgent question before the Christian world. The answer lies quite beyond the sphere of the missionaries on the field, the missionary boards and agencies of the Church, and also quite beyond the choice of the individual business man in a non-Christian land or the firm or corporation which he represents. This is a matter which concerns the statement of Christian ethics, the purpose and practice of the Christian Church. It enters vitally into the subject of Christian education in the Sunday school, in the pulpit, in the theological seminary, where both ministers and missionaries are trained.

Many business men carry to non-Christian lands misconceptions of, or prejudices against, the work of the missionary, which began in an inefficient Sunday school, in the defective missionary education of the local church; and in the obscure ethical instruction on both economic and missionary subjects received from the Christian pulpit. Likewise the missionary goes to his labors insufficiently instructed both as to the pitfalls and the advantages of relating commerce and industry to the work of evangelizing the world. Nowhere do the inconsistencies and incoherence of our present definitions of the purpose of the Kingdom of God and current applications of the ethics of Jesus more embarrass us than in our efforts to Christianize the non-Christian world.

A full discussion of this subject is not possible here, but certain broad recommendations may be made with reference to the special problems presented above.

1. Prejudice in the United States against missionary work should be removed by more adequate missionary education and by wider use of the channels of popular publicity. There needs to be a complete restatement of the missionary purpose, not so much with a view to correction as with a view to making it more intelligible to the great mass of people. The purpose to evangelize the world must be stated in terms which the ordinary man

will recognize as practical, useful, and just. There must be a general elevation of foreign missions in the estimation of the American people to a dignity and importance that business men will realize before they go abroad.

2. Frequent contacts should be created between the foreign trade agencies of the country and the missionary bodies. Conferences between these two sets of agencies would be productive of much good in raising the standards of both commercial and missionary personnel and practice. Missionaries newly recruited for the field should have the maximum of opportunity to meet those engaged in the export trade, for the mutual benefit which would be derived. Opportunities should be sought by missionary leaders to lecture to training schools where foreign trade representatives are being trained before being sent out to their work.

3. The moral character of the business and professional men abroad is the largest factor in determining whether Western trade will help or hurt foreign missions. The ministers of American churches ought to see to it that the members of their churches who are engaged in the export trade or in foreign commerce of any sort fully appreciate the great responsibilities which rest upon them for the securing of such representatives of American life in non-Christian lands as will be creditable to Christianity and will also be sympathetic with the purpose to evangelize the non-Christian world. We may note with thankfulness encouraging indications that many commercial agencies are exercising increasingly greater care in the selection and training of their foreign representatives.

CHAPTER XX

THE BEARING OF ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS ON FOREIGN MISSIONS

Not many years ago the business man, the economist, and the missionary were regarded as having very little in common. The business man was considered practical and hard-headed and lived in the busy mart of trade and commerce. The economist was considered theoretical and dry as dust. He lived in his study chair and the college classroom. The foreign missionary was considered slightly crazed. He lived in the land of cannibals. Apparently, they were very far apart.

The economist saw that he ought to be on terms of intimacy with the man of business, but his friendly advances were regarded with suspicion, especially in America. But, as a matter of fact, while the business man was regarding the economist as a mere theorist, business was being carried on all the time on the theories which economics had proclaimed as valid and necessary. And lately the business man and the economist have become more conscious of their common point of view, so that we can safely say that they are becoming not only acquaintances but bosom friends. This reconciliation was especially noticeable during the war. They both went down to Washington and rubbed elbows on committee tables, to the advantage, let us hope, of both themselves and their country. The effect of this friendship is being felt already in the colleges and universities. Large corporations and other forms of big business are offering the economist a much larger salary than the universities can afford to pay, so the seats of learning are feeling the shortage in the supply of teachers for the classes in economics.

Yet what of the foreign missionary and of the relation of both the business man and the economist to him? However close business and economics may have come to a common point of view, it is still true that they and foreign missions generally seem poles apart. And the business man's attitude toward missions has, as a matter of fact, been considerably influenced by the economist. Probably the business man himself has not realized this fact, for the influence exerted by the economist goes back almost 150 years, to the time of Adam Smith, known as "the father of all the economists." He taught and made orthodox for the coming century the doctrine of *laissez faire,* which means "hands off," let the people alone. It rested on the assumption that underneath what the business man does there is a natural law which, if not interfered with, and under competitive conditions, will work out for "the greatest good to the greatest number."

England welcomed his book, "The Wealth of Nations," with open arms. One man who was living then said about it, "It will persuade the living generation and govern the next." This has been true. The idea of *laissez faire* passed into the very center of Anglo-Saxon economic thought, and soon it crossed the ocean and became a fixture in the industrial life of our nation. To many American business men, Adam Smith is but a name and *laissez faire* only a French phrase, but the idea for which he stood is a part of their life and practice. "Let us alone and in producing the greatest amount of profits for ourselves we will also be benefiting the community." Any idea which has made a big impression on the world must have some element of truth in it. We cannot appreciate the significance of the doctrine of *laissez faire* without realizing that it represented a great advance over the prevailing practice of Adam Smith's day, when England was burdened with stupid restrictive legislation—an inheritance from the Middle Ages—that cramped

and confined the free play of normal business and industrial intercourse. But when a truer idea is born, the older idea dies. It was sheer individualism which Adam Smith taught and it is the same individualism which the business man has held, up to this decade. So, regarding the foreign missionary from the individualistic and from the "natural law" point of view, he was weighed in the balance and found wanting. He was a dreamer, a meddler, and a sentimentalist.

I. Economics and Foreign Missions

But there has been a change in the economist's opinion. Since Adam Smith's day, much progress has been made by the economist towards a higher and truer standard for man. We know now only too well that it frequently happens that the interest of the individual, as he sees it, is not the interest of the community. Standing on Adam Smith's shoulders, the modern economists have begun to see that, as Professor Cairnes has expressed it, "Human beings know and follow their interests according to their lights and dispositions: but not necessarily, nor in practice always, in the sense in which the interest of the individual is coincident with that of others and of the whole." Consequently we are turning in the twentieth century from an emphasis on individualism to an emphasis on the solidarity of society. The science of economics is teaching now that the criterion of all practices is social utility, and that there can be no lasting prosperity of the individual apart from the welfare of society as a whole. In short, economics has been coming to have Christian foundations, to see that the strong are to bear the burdens of the weak, that if one member of society suffers all suffer —which is the point of view of foreign missions.

We can see the solidarity of human interest in a simple illustration. A certain manufacturer produces a cheap grade of shoes. He employs one thousand laborers. The

labor market is oversupplied with men seeking work. The employer is able to pay the workmen lower wages than is necessary to maintain the laborers in their full efficiency and therefore does so. Not only does the laborer suffer, but also the community, because the laborer is underpaid and in the long run the manufacturer who sought to benefit himself at others' expense suffers with the rest. There is a twofold loss to him as a producer. The first loss is due to the fact that he is employing laborers of less efficiency than would have been the case if they had been better paid. The second loss, which is the greater of the two, lies in the fact that perhaps nine-tenths of those who consume the necessities of life in the average community are the laborers themselves. They are not able, if underpaid, to buy the shoes which our producer has made. It is evident therefore that the manufacturer's advantage depends upon the advantage of the workers. The interests of the different agents of production are identical when regarded from the social point of view. This new basis for estimating social values has developed very greatly in the last two decades. It is called the "social utility" idea, and means that the human race has a common economic interest which knows no lines of division and that to get the best results for all in the long run we must consider the group rather than the individual.

Some concrete illustrations may help us to realize the extent to which this standard of social utility is actually finding expression in various phases of our economic life. What, for example, is to be the modern justification of private ownership of property? The attacks of the extreme socialists against private ownership, especially of land, have led the economists to examine the grounds of its validity. Different theories for justifying private ownership of property have been put forward in the past, among which were the "occupation," the "legal," and the "labor" justifications. None of them has been able to

stand a critical examination. In fact, there is only one possible justification for private ownership of property, and that is "social utility." If we are to continue to have private ownership of property it will be because we believe that the social advantage is greater under this form of ownership than would be the case if all property were nationalized.

Or consider the modern principles of taxation. A great change in the theory of taxation has been taking place in recent years. For many decades we thought that a man should be taxed according to the "benefit" he received from the Government. If he were a large property owner it was felt that he should pay a higher tax than the man who had less property, because he received more from the Government in the form of protection for his property. This view, however, is being found to be superficial and cannot be held logically, because it is frequently the case that the rich man needs less protection from the Government than the poor man. There is no correlation between individual riches and individual benefit from the Government. The benefit basis of taxation has been supplanted by the more modern conception of "ability." What is meant by taxing men according to their ability? It means that a man must contribute to the needs of the country in proportion to his wealth or his income. It is not a question of how much he receives from the Government, but how much he is able to give. The concrete evidence that governments are taxing the people according to their ability to pay is found in the taxes during the war. The taxes levied during the war were not only in proportion to wealth or income, but were highly progressive with the increases of wealth or income, the rate of taxation increasing with the increase of income. The theory underlying this graduated income tax is that every man has an obligation to his fellow-countrymen in proportion to his ability to help them. And it seems clear that the "ability" basis for taxation

has come to stay—that to whom much is given of him shall much be required.

With reference to large corporations, the entire trend of legislation has been towards the goal of the greatest good to the body politic. The law-making bodies are regarding the corporations, not so much from the standpoint of profits, as from that of the prosperity of the people. They are asking this question: "What is the ratio between the profits of the large corporations and what they contribute to the general welfare of the people?" This holds true also in our public utility corporations, regardless of whether we believe the solution to be either public or private ownership. This whole question of public or private ownership of railways and other public services will be decided on the basis of social advantage. If the social benefit is greater in public ownership, we will eventually nationalize the railways; if not, they will again pass into private hands. There is a growing agreement that social utility must be the final test.

Or consider the most recent illustration of applying the principle of social utility to a great commercial enterprise. Probably no movement has brought so much surprise to the average man as the rapid progress of our country towards prohibition. The stock argument against prohibition has been that, in this land of the free, the rights and liberties of the individual must ever remain paramount and that no one has the right to interfere with the personal freedom of action of anybody else. Yet national prohibition is here. Often highly educated men have affirmed that it simply could not happen that the whole nation would "mount the water-wagon." How can we account for it? There is only one explanation. We have been rapidly drawing towards the social utility basis of controlling our national life. The war hastened the movement toward prohibition, but the war was not the cause of it. It would have come anyway, sooner or later, because it had become clear that the advantage to

society as a whole is of far greater consequence than the economic advantage or the personal pleasure of comparatively few.

Recently an economist in one of our large universities remarked that he had never been able to get nearer to a belief in a personal God than did Herbert Spencer, yet he was prepared to admit that in adopting the social utility idea economics was becoming essentially Christian. The economist was right, for this concept is Christian to the core. It is impossible to say just how much Christianity has done to bring this idea into the present growing degree of acceptance, but the important thing is to note that the principle which has always been inseparable from the Christian way of life seems now to be becoming a theory of economics. Christ's teaching of love, hitherto regarded by the majority as an impracticable ideal, is beginning to be seen as the only practicable foundation of society.

II. Business and Foreign Missions

It is undoubtedly true that business and industry still largely cling to the old competitive individualism which the science of economics is rapidly passing beyond. But since economics furnishes the organizing principles around which commerce tends to be built, we may be confident that the idea of social utility and cooperation will one day control our business and industrial life. Already there are many hopeful signs and outstanding examples of the new spirit. An increasing number of men are believing today that business is not primarily for private profit but for public service—in short, that it is one great way of serving the Kingdom of God. There is unmistakably a gradually growing conviction that the success of a Christian in any business or industry must be judged by the extent to which it ministers to the good of the whole community. There is also an increasing conviction that the method of cooperation must find

a larger place. When the day comes when our business is organized, not on the principle of individual self-seeking, but on the Christian principle of social service, American international trade will become a powerful agency for carrying the Christian Gospel into all the life of all the world.

But the foreign missionary is still handicapped by those business men who cling to the old idea that the one object in trade and industry is to make profits and declare dividends. In a recent issue of one of the most popular magazines in the world an article bore a heading to the effect that men thought that the American ambassador represented them in the Far East, but that this was not so; it was the foreign missionary. There is much truth in this, but why was the American business man overlooked? For it is both from the foreign missionary and the business man that the peoples of foreign countries get their idea of America. How, then, can we hope to convince the non-Christian world of the truth and supreme worth of Christianity if business representatives of so-called Christian America carry on their daily work in a way that reveals how little the gospel of service and love has laid hold of the practical social relationships of our land? Western trade may act so loudly that the people of the East cannot hear what the missionary has to say.

One need consider for only a moment certain aspects of the history of Western nations in international trade with the Orient to realize how business practice has denied the message that the missionary has preached. The missionary has proclaimed a gospel of human brotherhood and service. The trader has all too often incarnated a gospel of selfishness, even of exploitation of the weak by the strong. It is difficult to escape the logic of the Chinese woman in the interior town who said to a missionary after an evangelistic appeal, "You come to us with Jesus in one hand and opium in the other. We do not want your opium and your Jesus." But one need not

dwell on slave trade or opium traffic in the past or even on the present exploitation of native labor in the rubber industry, or trade in intoxicants and drugs with Africa or the East, to carry home the bearing of unchristian standards of business on the success of Christian missions. It is not simply in these flagrant abuses abroad but in our general assumption that our trade and industry at home may rest on ruthless competition and unrestrained selfishness that our gospel of brotherhood is hindered in the world. The extent to which sheer individualism rules in the economic realm is the size of this handicap which the missionary has to overcome in reaching the non-Christian world effectively with the Gospel.

A present-day illustration of what we have been saying may be found on a large scale in the attitude of some American business interests toward Mexico. Quite apart from the question as to whether financial interests are responsible for the propaganda for armed intervention, it is clear that there are those who would be quite willing to see America engaged in war with Mexico in order that their own business concerns might be protected. Yet it is almost beyond dispute that such a step would mean almost the destruction of the work of love which the missionaries have been carrying on in that land and would paralyze for a generation our future missionary effort there.[1]

And what of the young men of foreign countries who are coming in increasing numbers to Christian countries to learn the methods of industry and commerce? What impression do they get of Christianity from our competitive seeking of material things? A number of Hindu students went to England to learn how modern industry was organized and carried on. When they arrived in England they found that the doors of the factories were closed against them. The English producers did not

[1] *Cf.* Chapter XIII.

wish their Indian market destroyed and so refused to allow the Indian students to see how the goods were produced, lest they return to India and start factories of their own. Practically all of educated India was aroused over the matter, and while this happened a number of years ago, it is not yet forgotten and cannot help reacting on the work of Christian missions in India.

There is only one possible solution of this problem—all the contacts of the East and the West must be Christianized if we are really to evangelize the nations. The home Church must set itself to Christianize our whole business, industrial, and social life. It is a great task but not an impossible one. The time never was more opportune, for in the economic realm itself many have already caught a vision of social utility and cooperation as the organizing principle of human relations. When the principle becomes really controlling in our Western life, all our international relationships, not simply our missionary relationships, will have become mighty factors in the Christianizing of the world.

CHAPTER XXI

MISSIONARY AGENCIES IN RELATION TO STUDENTS FROM OTHER LANDS

The World War has had the effect of creating an enormous increase of interest on the part of almost all nations in American institutions. Throughout Latin America the suspicion and misunderstanding of the past have given way to a remarkable manifestation of admiration and friendliness. Each of the twenty republics would gladly send its students here, not only by scores but literally by hundreds, if sufficient funds were available. The Brazilian Government has arranged to send us fifty of her ablest students annually. From India we hear that enthusiasm for things American is truly astounding and plans are already adopted which will result in the coming to America of a decidedly larger number of Indian students than formerly. The noble service rendered by our people in the Near East is bound to draw hundreds of youths from those suffering lands to our schools and colleges.

Recent appropriations by the Japanese Government will provide for sending immediately to America two or three hundred mature students and professors in addition to the one thousand already here. Through the generosity of many colleges, nearly two hundred French students are pursuing studies in America and more will arrive during the year. The initiative of a few friends of Serbia is opening the way for fifty of the ablest Serbian students to enjoy the fellowship of American students during the coming year. A prince royal from Siam has been instrumental in attracting nearly two score of the promising youths of his country to our preparatory schools and

universities. Young Aguinaldo, son of the famous revolutionary leader in the Philippines, is one of the five hundred splendid Filipino young men now making a high record in Uncle Sam's classroom.

I. The Situation

One hundred nations are seeing America through the eyes of their student representatives. Nearly ten thousand future leaders of thought and action have severed home ties, forsaken the haunts and customs of their childhood, and braved the new and exacting conditions of our college and university life. Because of who they are and also because of who they are to be these students claim our attention. Among them are the political leaders of the future, the controllers of international commerce, the teachers of the teachers, and the moulders of religious thought and practice.

A study of the student representatives from abroad brings out the following significant facts:

1. Many of them are the product of missionary effort. Their contact with the life and work of missionaries has inspired them to come here for further study. Fully eighty per cent of the Chinese student secretaries now serving in France and England are the direct product of mission schools. We would be justified in saying that most of the foreign students in our church schools and colleges are there because of the intervention and help of missionaries, and that probably one-half of those enrolled in our state and private institutions would not have come without missionary encouragement. This statement, however, would not apply to Latin American countries, where relatively few students have had any contact with missionary representatives.

2. It is estimated that only about twenty-five per cent of the total number of foreign students in the United States are active Christians. From forty to fifty per cent of the Chinese indemnity students are positive Chris-

tians upon arrival here. Among one thousand from Japan it is doubtful whether three hundred are Christians and the Japanese government student who is a Christian is the exception. Practically all from Roman and Greek Catholic lands have been "baptized in the faith," but as a class they are indifferent freethinkers, ridiculing religion. The Indian Student Christian Union reports that less than one-fifth of the enrolment of Indians here is Christian.

3. Our student guests from abroad are sensitive, impressionable, and very susceptible to friendly courtesy. How conscious they are of differences in physical features, language, and customs between themselves and American students, and how eagerly they seize every opportunity that will enable them more nearly to conform to the ways of their fellow-collegians, even to adopting the pipe, cigarette, chewing gum, and slang! If they are cordially received and courteously assisted when they first come among us they never forget it, and they immediately begin to shout and write the praises of America. If, on the other hand, they receive shabby treatment, they are likely to carry through life recollections of discrimination and to conclude that the missionary has falsified and that all Christians are hypocrites.

4. Those who have returned to their countries without becoming positive Christians are a hindrance to missionary work. From every mission field comes the appeal, "Win for Christ our students in America." Have we not all heard of the damaging influence of the trained sceptic and agnostic as he returns to his own people from study abroad? Nothing is more depressing to the champion of world-wide evangelization than the authentic reports of the haughty, lazy, selfish conduct of scores of returning students. Some have circulated startling stories of the participation of missionaries in an imperialistic and commercial program. Others have led aggressive campaigns to arouse their people to open hostility

toward Christian propaganda. On the other hand, we are greatly encouraged by the glowing reports of the magnificent service and leadership of hundreds of self-denying students who have caught the vision of the need and only hope of their people and are working shoulder to shoulder with missionary forces. It is encouraging to be able to say that those who are with us are far more influential than those who are against us. There are not a few individual graduates of our institutions at work among their own people, whose contribution to the cause of Christ exceeds that of ten missionaries.

5. The last fact to which we call attention is the responsiveness of these students. When Christian truth is presented to them in terms of life and service many gladly accept it. Eight Chinese students were baptized at the Northfield Student Conference in June; forty delegates from Latin American countries signed a positive declaration of Christian purpose. From time to time during the year we hear of foreign students accepting Christ and uniting with the Church.

II. How to Meet the Situation

In view of the foregoing facts it is important that all mission boards and agencies should know what organizations are seeking to meet this unusual opportunity, ascertain the objective, methods, and results of such efforts, more adequately support existing agencies, and set in motion such new forces as may be required. In addition to the Government Bureau of Education in Washington, the following organizations may be mentioned as the most active in promoting the welfare of students and professors from other lands: the Cosmopolitan Club; Chinese Students' Alliance and also their Christian Association; the Council of North American Education; the Association of American Colleges; the Council of Church Boards of Education; the Institute of International Education; the Pan-American Union; the

Inter-America Round Table; the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America; the Student Christian Movement, including the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association and the Student Volunteer Movement; and the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students.

Since 1911 the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students has been attempting to supply information to students abroad and to meet and guide them upon their arrival here. It has further been its aim to promote friendly relations among all such students while they are in America and to follow them by correspondence upon their return to their home land. Some of the means employed are the printing and distributing of guidebooks and foreign student magazines, the employing of traveling secretaries representing Asia, Latin America, and the Near East, organizing Bible discussion groups, providing evangelistic addresses, presenting devotional literature, and inviting annually about five hundred foreign students to be guests at summer conferences. It is its purpose to meet the individual's immediate need, to ascertain his major interest, and to serve him in such a natural and sympathetic way as to win his confidence, and, friendship having been established, to share our most precious gift—acquaintance and fellowship with Christ.

Not only does the large number of foreign students in America offer a powerful challenge to our Churches, but the visits of an increasing number of tourists and other travelers also afford an extensive opportunity to reveal and interpret the higher Christian forces at work within our nation. One method of making such an impression that has been successfully tried and could well be more widely used is the giving of dinners at which representative Christian citizens speak frankly of their convictions that the best in our American life has its source in our religion. The visit of a prominent railroad manager from Brazil to a Railroad Young Men's Christian Asso-

ciation in New York led him to declare that he would establish this institution on similar lines upon returning home. Likewise men from other nations, having observed various phases of our social and religious welfare activity, have resolved that they would carry on such work among their own people.

In view of the strategic importance of this group of foreign visitors and students perhaps the following suggestions to churches and church members will be timely:

1. Let pastors of churches ascertain the number and nationality of foreign students and special visitors in the vicinity of their churches. Let them then present these facts to certain members of their congregation who can invite such students from time to time to come to their homes for dinner or for a week-end and to accompany them to church on Sunday. It is particularly desirable to discover the major interest of each foreign student and visitor in order to relate him to some Christian American with similar interests. For example, students in banking should be introduced to Christian bankers and medical students to our Christian physicians. By inquiring of the student Y. M. C. A. secretary in any community, information can be obtained regarding the names, addresses, nationality, and religious preference of foreign students and thus the point of contact can be more readily established with them.

2. Occasionally a group of foreign students desires to hold a conference, an important committee meeting, or a retreat, and would gladly accept the offer of a private home for it. Through the help of a few friends in the same neighborhood lodging and meals could be provided over the week-end for such a group of future Christian leaders.

3. Students and visitors from other lands might well be invited to address churches, young people's meetings, Sunday schools, missionary societies, and similar gatherings. A small honorarium, although not required, would

be much appreciated by many of these students who are earning part of their college expenses. Among the foreign students there are also many who have special talents as entertainers, and in some instances dramatic groups have been organized with a view to presenting a strong missionary and international appeal before organizations or societies that care for such presentations.

4. There are many helpful ministries that Christian people could render to these foreign students. They should be very alert to discover cases of illness or discouragement and by visitation and otherwise to minister to any such students. The distribution of helpful books and pamphlets is another important service that is easily rendered.

5. The broadening and educative influence of a few choice future leaders from abroad at picnics and excursions of Sunday schools or at social gatherings of other church organizations has been proved by those who have tried the experiment.

6. With comparatively little effort the educated leaders from abroad in any community can be enlisted in service to their fellow-countrymen through the conducting of boys' clubs, teaching of English and fundamentals of American citizenship, visitation, etc. Such services on their part will benefit both their fellow-countrymen and themselves.

7. Mission boards and returned missionaries might well consult mature representatives of the various countries in order to ascertain their suggestions regarding policies and programs.

It would be highly inconsistent for missionary societies which are largely responsible for the presence of students in America from all mission lands to neglect their welfare when here or to be indifferent to their deepest needs. Statesmanship, strategy, and economy demand far greater vigilance on our part regarding this important element in our student life.

CHAPTER XXII

FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SUCCESS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

In this day when the United States is being brought into the currents of international life to a degree never dreamed of hitherto, the bearing of our foreign policies as a nation upon the success of foreign missions becomes more significant and more evident than ever before. These policies have already had important influence on foreign missions, although few American Christians realize how important that influence has been. We need, therefore, to examine both the beneficial and the hurtful effects of our past foreign policies, in order to find clear guidance for the future.

First let us define our terms. By "foreign policies of the United States" we mean not only the more formal utterances by the Department of State and the Senate of consciously conceived principles and purposes which control their international decisions and actions, but also those more or less unconscious motives and emotions which determine the international attitudes of mind and the correlated activities of the entire nation. For instance, the official and no doubt sincere utterances of the Department of State toward China have always been those of friendship, yet since 1870 the attitude and conduct of the people as a whole toward Chinese in America have not been characterized by friendliness. An attitude of selfishness and arrogance leading at times to brutal deeds of violence and to anti-Chinese legislation has expressed itself in a definite though unavowed policy of

antagonism. Of course, multitudes of Americans have not shared in these feelings and spirit. They have, indeed, condemned them. Yet the attitude referred to has been sufficiently widespread and forceful to dominate the legislative actions of our country, and may be fairly regarded as its "policy" in dealing with Asiatics.

While Americans may well rejoice that on the whole the foreign policies of the United States have been noble and praiseworthy, yet we should not close our eyes to facts of an opposite character. The remarkable successes thus far achieved by the missionary enterprises of American Christians have been due in no small part to the essentially Christian character of those policies. Yet certain features in these policies have been clearly unchristian and these have equally clearly brought disastrous consequences on the mission fields.

I. Christian Foreign Policies of the United States and Their Beneficial Results for Missions

American merchants played an honorable and successful rôle in the early and middle part of the last century, in introducing China and her trade to the world. America's diplomatic representatives in China, as in many other lands, were men of broad vision and Christian character. They desired and sought fair dealing rather than special advantages and rights for America and Americans. This contrast of spirit and aims led the Chinese Government, as it has led other governments also, to place high confidence in the American Government and people.

Anson Burlingame for several years (1860-1868) proved himself such a staunch defender of China's rights as against the predatory aims and methods of some other governments that "at the request of China and with the consent of his own government he resigned his post and was appointed by the Chinese Government in 1868 its Envoy to the United States and to the principal Euro-

pean nations. The Chinese Embassy, with Mr. Burlingame at its head, was received in the United States with an almost continuous ovation; and even in California was heralded as the precursor of new and broader relations of trade and friendship between the two countries." A new treaty was drawn and "signed by representatives of the two nations amidst the applause of the whole country." It secured reciprocally among other things freedom of residence, travel, and immigration and "most favored nation treatment." It also pledged the territorial integrity of China.

Mr. Burlingame and his Chinese Commission went on to Europe to try to secure similarly friendly treaties between China and the governments of those lands but, unfortunately for the world, he died just as he was entering on his important task.

The influence of such friendly governmental relations between America and China on the success of American missions in China has been beyond calculation. It was one of the important factors that secured the missionaries opportunity for continued activity unhampered by local or national interference. The amazing safety which on the whole was accorded to Christian missions, in spite of local opposition and religious prejudices that sometimes found open and violent expression, was thus due in no small measure to America's foreign policies.

Other instances of fine and Christian policies toward China on the part of America can be only referred to. Consider the policy of the "open door," first insisted on by Secretary of State Hay. At that time, Japan, Germany, Russia, England, and France were vying with each other in the "partition of China." Secretary Hay proposed the "open door policy" in such a way that without any act by our army and navy, and even without a threat, he called a halt on the predatory policies of other nations. When China attempted by the Boxer uprising to drive the foreigners out, and the nations were disposed to de-

clare the Manchu Government at an end and to take over the entire government of China, it was Mr. Hay who saved China and gave her another chance. Of all the governments that exacted enormous indemnities because of the destruction and expenses caused by the Boxers, America alone returned what she received beyond actual costs. These deeds and policies expressing fundamentally Christian attitudes toward the Chinese race and people have had a most salutary influence on the Chinese people. The phenomenal successes of American missions in China during the past two decades have been possible only because of the confidence and good will evoked by these deeds of friendship.

Turning to Japan, we find that the story is essentially the same. The names differ—the spirit and policy have been identical. Japan's natural resentment and even rage at the presumptuous act of Commodore Perry in sailing into the Bay of Yeddo (1853), for two centuries closed to foreign ships, was soon allayed. For the Government and people in time discovered the Christian spirit and character of Minister Harris, who patiently negotiated that first treaty of commerce. It was so fair to Japan that she was saved at the very start of her new international life from many of the disastrous policies and ambitions of the European powers. This experience has been the basis of an extraordinary attitude of friendship and good will toward America.

For two and a half centuries Japan had been a closed country because of her well-justified fear of the so-called Christian nations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their policies caused a calamity of incalculable proportions to the Christianization of the Orient. Had Japan become a Christian land at the time—and China, too—what might not the world have been saved?

That a new opportunity has come for missions in Japan is largely due to the Christian policy of the United States toward Japan in the fifties, sixties, and seventies, and to

the Christian character of the men sent to Japan by the American Government in those critical decades. As in China, so in Japan, America restored an indemnity fund to which she did not feel just claim—the "Shimonoseki Indemnity" ($875,000 received in 1865 and restored in 1883). The Christian character of multitudes of American teachers and professors who went to Japan and the fine treatment of large numbers of Japanese students who came to America in the three closing decades of the last century have had an enormous, an incalculable, effect in Japan. By our essential friendliness we dispelled her fear and induced confidence. This was a prerequisite to the successful proclamation of the Gospel.

II. Unchristian Foreign Policies of the United States and Their Harmful Effects

If America's foreign policies had always been Christian in every respect, who can measure the results that would today be gladdening our eyes? Honesty compels humiliating confessions. In this brief paper we may note but a few illustrations.

The slave traffic, carried on under the sanction of the Government, for decades disgraced our history and brought on our land a blight that will last perhaps for centuries. Who can tell all the ways in which it has hindered the successful prosecution of foreign missions, not only in Africa but in every land? Slavery, long supported and defended by American Christians, even yet causes Japanese students of Christianity to ask searching questions as to the claims of Christianity to be the absolute religion. Race riots in Washington and Chicago today, half a century after the abolition of slavery, yet its direct consequence, make Asia wonder if America is Christian in fact or only in name and pretense. The obstacles to foreign missions which are raised by these doubts are tremendously serious.

And who can tell what the history of Africa might

have been had America been free from slavery? The Christian zeal of the churches of America might have changed the history of Africa from a vast tragedy to a glorious revelation of the success of Christian missions.

The race prejudice against Negroes now so widespread in America, one of the baleful results of slavery, is passing over to a race prejudice against Asiatics. It is revealing itself in a national policy of arrogance toward Asiatics and unfair and unfriendly dealings with them that is highly ominous for the future. Its disastrous effects on missions in Asia will increasingly appear as time goes on. The rising discussions of the "yellow peril" or of the predicted "war of the white and yellow races for the domination of the world" are ominous hints that should make every thoughtful man pause. In proportion as this thought spreads and grips the West will it also spread and grip the East. It will determine their policies as a race in proportion as it moulds ours. The obstacles it will place in the way of missionary success in Asia are incalculable. But in the same measure it will manifest the failure of essential Christianity in our own land. Thus closely interlinked is the success of foreign missions in Asia with the success of Christianity here.

Let us, however, be more specific. When the anti-Chinese agitation developed in California in the eighties of the last century, mob violence developed in many places. The Federal Government was unable to keep its treaty obligations to protect the life and property of aliens. This fact was also true in the case of Italians and other peoples. It is still true. Congress and the people of America are apparently so indifferent to treaty obligations that nothing has been done to set the laws right, in spite of the urgent appeals of four of our recent presidents for the needed legislation.

Disregarding our treaty pledges to China that her citizens in America shall have "the most favored nation treatment," laws have been passed repeatedly in violation

of that pledge. The Supreme Court in a test case declared the Scott Act "in contravention of the treaty," yet it upheld the law, while it condemned Congress for passing a law that violates moral principles in international relations.[1] American Christians have not yet awakened to the blot on America's honor because of the situation nor to the danger that may yet grow out of it.

Since 1870 partisan politics have repeatedly appealed to race prejudice. Politicians have capitalized that prejudice for personal or party advantage. The Chinese and latterly the Japanese have been subjected to slander and vilification. Few leaders in political life have attempted to secure them justice. A new anti-Japanese campaign is now being staged. Falsehoods without limit are cir-

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[1] A full account of the conduct of Congress during the latter part of the last century when both political parties sought to win the vote of the Pacific Coast states is hardly possible in a paragraph or two. The history of that dark period is well recorded in Professor M. R. Cooledge's "Chinese Immigration" (Henry Holt, 1909). A few sentences, however, may give a general idea of what took place.

The treaty with China of 1880, which arranged for the temporary suspension of Chinese immigration, provides in a number of places that Chinese laborers in the United States shall receive "most favored nation treatment." It specifically states (Art. II) that "Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens of the most favored nation." In the course of many years of rivalry to capitalize for party politics the anti-Chinese sentiment of California, Congressman Scott introduced (September, 1888) a bill, which was promptly passed, providing that no more certificates for return to America should be granted to Chinese laborers; and making "all heretofore issued void." At that very time there were 20,000 Chinese who held such certificates, 600 of whom were on the ocean on their way back from a visit to China. They were refused readmission to the United States. Chinese in America believed that the courts would uphold their treaty rights, since the Constitution declares that "treaties are the supreme law of the land." They accordingly raised a fund of $100,000 and carried their test case to the Supreme Court, with the amazing result recorded in the text. The Chinese minister then wrote to Mr. Blaine, our Secretary of State: "I was not prepared to learn that there was a way recognized in the law and practice of this country by which your country could release itself from treaty obligations without consultations or consent of the other party."

culated over the country by a press only too ready to lend itself to sensational "news." Not only the people generally but even the Christians of America are swayed by these methods. Their attitudes of mind and their votes are supporting policies that are clearly in conflict with the Golden Rule. Laws are passed sanctioning economic discriminations against Asiatics merely because they are Asiatics. Citizenship is refused them merely on that ground, however well they may qualify in every intellectual and moral respect.

These policies in America are beginning to have unfortunate results on the Christian movement in Japan. Should they continue and lead at last to a serious clash, the disaster to the missionary work in that land would be instant and terrific. The splendid results of fifty years would be largely, if not wholly, wiped out. Yet war between America and Japan is a subject of frequent conversation among many and of definite prophecy and even of desire by some. If the Churches of America are earnest with their missions in Japan and China, they should grapple at once and energetically with the unchristian anti-Asiatic policies that are now sweeping through our land.

Another illustration of the same principle is found in our relations with Latin America. The "Monroe Doctrine" is one of the consciously avowed policies of our people and Government. The true statement of that doctrine, which is essentially Christian, has been largely set aside, while a rank perversion has widely taken its place. Our friendly attitude of opposition to all predatory ambitions of European peoples in this hemisphere has been transformed into a doctrine of priority of our rights and interests in Latin American countries. This has been deeply resented by them. The damage wrought to our mutual relations by this unchristian doctrine cannot easily be estimated. It has seriously disturbed, not only our political and commercial, but also our intellectual

and religious contacts. It has bred suspicion and hostility and has hampered in serious ways the proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus.

Our relations to Mexico constitute another pertinent illustration of the subject under discussion. Our governmental policy in dealing with the disturbed conditions in that country will have untold consequences on our mission work there. Intervention, so widely demanded in certain quarters, would unquestionably play havoc with our missions. The problem is a difficult one, but the only real solution will be a Christian solution.

III. Practical Lessons and Suggestions

The practical outcome of this line of study is clear. It may be stated in a series of propositions.

1. *The Churches have inescapable responsibilities and duties in regard to the foreign policies of our people and Government,* for the successful Christianization of the world is bound up with our maintenance of Christian international policies.

2. *All Christians should be informed and educated in these matters.* Every Christian should be taught that he has international political duties just as real and important as his community, state, and national duties. International righteousness is as truly a matter of individual responsibility as civic righteousness. Christian internationalism, therefore, should be made a subject matter of textbooks and studied regularly and systematically by all mission study groups and classes.

3. *The responsible leaders of the Churches and of mission boards should be led to accept their responsibilities in these matters.* How can these results be accomplished unless the central agencies of the Churches take the leadership?

If America is going to deal fairly with Orientals, if we are going to practice the Golden Rule in our dealings with China, Japan, Mexico, and Latin America, our na-

tion will have to experience a change of heart. But if this change of heart is to come, definite individuals will experience it and give it expression. They will become the instruments of God's Spirit to transmit to the whole people that burning of heart, that conviction of national sin, and that earnestness of national repentance which are essential. This is the special privilege and opportunity of Christians and especially of Christian leaders, of missionary leaders. They should be agents of God's will in international affairs. If Christian leaders do not hear God's voice on these matters, who will? If they do not guide, who will see the way?

a. Every theological seminary should introduce appropriate lectures and courses of study. These should emphasize not only the fine results in foreign mission fields of the Christian ideals and practices of our country, but also present points of defect and wrongdoing. All our pastors should know the facts and be prepared to preach about them, just as they do about the conditions on the mission fields.

b. Every mission board, and especially the secretaries, in planning for mission study courses, should incorporate this subject as an integral part of such courses.

c. The Foreign Missions Conference, and especially its permanent active representative, the Committee of Reference and Counsel, should be induced to make this matter one of its regular duties. Just as it focuses the attention and coordinates the work of the boards in certain other matters pertinent to the success of foreign missions, so it should do the same in regard to this matter.

Is it possible to awaken the Churches and secure appropriate action? It is, if the missionary boards and societies will give the matter the needed time and thought, and will take the needed steps. The foreign missionary work of the Churches should not be in the least degree relaxed. But there should be a readjustment of perspective and of emphasis as to the practical duties of Chris-

tians. A definite program should be worked out in which all the Churches may unite for dealing with this matter. How often would the Lord say to us, "These ye ought to have done, and not to have left the other undone"?

What then, are the concrete steps which might wisely be taken? Should not the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference appoint a special Committee on International Friendship to grapple directly with this problem? Might it not prepare suitable courses of study on Christian Internationalism and recommend them to each foreign mission board, in order to get these questions adequately before its constituency? Proper recommendation of these courses by the recognized church leaders can go far toward securing their study in every adult group in every church in the United States. Every missionary magazine and denominational publication, moreover, should devote sufficient space and emphasis to these matters. Every Christian in America should say something informing and convincing upon them.

4. *Since Churches and missionary boards and societies as such cannot wisely go into politics, some other method must be found for doing politically what needs to be done politically.* The Churches need some central agency by which millions of Christians can act together politically when emergencies arise in international affairs. The Anti-Saloon League has been such an agency in the attainment of temperance legislation. The "World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches" offers itself for such service. Let the Committee of Reference and Counsel, therefore, examine carefully the spirit, objectives, principles, organization, and personnel of this branch of the World Alliance and on approval commend it to the churches.

A true international movement of Christians in America to be effective in the largest sense needs to be linked up with similar movements in other lands. This also is

made possible by the World Alliance for International Friendship. Only as Christians in all Christian lands cooperate will it be possible to make Christian ethics dominant in international affairs.

New clouds are lowering on the horizon of missionary work in the Orient. The policies and practices of "Christian" nations are being closely scrutinized by wide-awake Orientals from the standpoint of their interests, their rights, and the Golden Rule proclaimed by our missionaries. Unless Occidental nations square their conduct to the Golden Rule, the Occidental religion will not attain much success in the Orient. Oriental indignation and resentment at unfair and humiliating treatment do not constitute a mental attitude favorable to the acceptance of Occidental religion.

But in spite of the clouds, many signs of encouragement spur us on with new hope and fresh vigor. The nations of the Orient are looking to America with renewed interest and admiration, not merely because of the amazing revelation of the fighting powers of the United States, but also because of the equally amazing revelations of the idealism of our land. Unparalleled opportunities of effective missionary work are opening before the Churches. While contributing generously both of men and of money for the work abroad, thought and energy should also be directed to the battle for international righteousness here at home, for so far as selfish forces control our foreign policies they will hamper the success of all that we undertake abroad.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE RELATION OF FOREIGN MISSIONS TO INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

It is not the purpose of this chapter to take up in an abstract or comprehensive fashion the general study of the relation of foreign missions to the political affairs of foreign governments.[1] It will limit itself to the discussion of those special phases which were brought to the front during the World War and to the outstanding problems facing the foreign missionary enterprise as a result of the peace settlements which are being made.

The war emphasized, as never before, the relationship of missions to the political policies of governments. The missionary enterprise, which in days of peace had only rarely had occasion to approach governments for the purpose of securing or of safeguarding liberty of action, found itself during the war beset on every side by governmental regulations which affected its agents and its activities, even as they did those of all other enterprises. Passports became more difficult to secure. Military permits became necessary for admission to a large number of countries. The military draft affected the lives of prospective candidates and even of missionaries already in service. The censorship interfered with free communication whether by mail or by cable. In lands where missionaries were operating under enemy governments, they themselves were liable to be interned or deported and the missionary property became liable to confiscation.

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[1] For full discussion of this topic, see the Report of Commission VII of the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910, entitled "Missions and Governments."

In these and many other ways, missions became conscious of governments and vital and continuous relationships were sustained between the two. It can be safely said that the war was a great education to both missions and governments, acquainting each with the character and functions of the other.

I. Supra-Nationality

One of the most interesting discussions resulting from the closer relationship of missions and governments during the war was that relating to the supra-nationality of missions. Might the Christian missionary enterprise and its agents be regarded as supra-national? So the missionary representatives of certain neutral countries, led particularly by the Archbishop of Sweden, argued, insisting that the missionary agencies operating in the warring countries and particularly in the Allied countries should urge upon their governments the supra-national character of missionaries who were citizens of enemy countries. Missionary agencies in Allied countries, while ready to plead with their own governments for the extension of fair treatment to all missionaries operating within the territories of their own governments, were not willing to take issue with those governments with a view to securing to missionaries whom these governments thought should be deported or excluded privileges which were denied to other citizens of the same countries. A successful effort was made to secure the recognition of the trust character of enemy missionary property in the treaty with Germany in order to avoid the confiscation of this property with other enemy property. This was tantamount to recognizing the supra-nationality of missionary property. It was not found possible, however, to secure a similar status for the missionary himself. On the contrary, upon their own initiative, the Allied governments have gone forward with the enactment of legislation which will exclude many German missionaries from Allied territories and colonies.

The basis for the distinction is obvious. Property, which is an inanimate thing, can properly be regarded as neutral in a political sense. The living agents of the missionary agency cannot claim such a neutral character. If the missionary is to be supra-national during the days of war, he must also be supra-national during the days of peace. The logic of his not being subject to the limitations of his citizenship during war would be that he could not claim any of the privileges of his citizenship, such as protection by his own country, during the days of peace. Unless a supra-national state can be established of which this individual becomes a citizen or subject, it is not possible for him to enjoy the privileges of a supra-national citizenship. He must belong to some nationality and therefore not only enjoy the privileges but also incur the limitations or liabilities of such a citizenship in days of war as in days of peace.

II. The League of Nations and the Mandates

The proposed creation of a league of nations marks one of the greatest epochs in the history of the world. It would undergird the idealism of past centuries with an agency which might help to realize it in a practical way. It would remove the impotency of the Hague tribunal and of international agreements in the past, by establishing an agency through which the ideals of international agreement might be made actual in the world and not left to an uncertain voluntary acceptance. Such a step, it need hardly be said, ought to be of tremendous significance to foreign missions.

While the League of Nations has in it great possibilities for good to the missionary enterprise, it is important to note that it also has in it possibilities for evil. The plan itself will not count, in the long run, for nearly so much as will the way in which the plan works. Everything depends upon the personnel and the future policies of the League. It would be perfectly possible for un-

scrupulous representatives to make the League of Nations a power for evil, and the adoption of wrong policies would also vitiate the value of this new agency of international life whose possibilities for good are so great. Only as men of the highest ideals and capacity are named as representatives in the League and only as the nations who are members of it contribute to it out of their very best and noblest qualities, can this League become the power for good it is hoped it may be.

Article XXII of the Covenant reads as follows:

"To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant."

The foregoing paragraph sets forth the proposed mandatory government for territories taken either from Germany or Turkey. This registers an epoch-making advance in political ideals. The conception of government for the benefit of the people themselves, and not for their exploitation, and likewise the conception of one nation administering this government in the name of all the nations, constitute political conceptions that are closely related in spirit to the missionary ideal itself. It is a theory of colonial administration which enthrones unselfishness and altruism in the political sphere even as in the missionary and religious sphere. If these ideals are realized, then the missionary may avowedly recognize the government official as his fellow-worker for the uplift of humanity and the advancement of the Kingdom of God. It is important, however, to recognize that the clear enunciation of such a theory of unselfish government is far from the actual realization of such an

ideal. Even should the nations accept on paper the high ideals of a mandatory government, there are innumerable opportunities for the miscarriage of justice and the abuse of power: in other words, for making the mandatory relationship a sugar-coated pill for the most disgraceful abuses of power and a selfish exploitation of the countries committed to the care of these governments.

As a means to the realization of the full value of the proposed mandatory government, three suggestions may be made:

First, it is highly desirable that before any mandate be given or any territory assigned to any country for administration, the broad lines be laid down upon which all mandatory government is to be exercised. It will be much simpler to fix the regulations governing mandatory government before any territory is actually assigned to any given nation. After any territory is assigned to one nation there will be an inclination to debate the regulations of mandatory government in the light of their application to the particular territory that has already been assigned.

Second, it is important that in the assignment of these territories due regard be given to the preferences and natural affinities of the peoples inhabiting them, so that a sympathetic and congenial mandatory power may be selected.

In the third place, it is of the utmost importance that the government of each territory, by its mandatory power, be constantly reviewed by an appropriate committee of the League of Nations, in order to see that the terms of the trusteeship are being actually fulfilled by the government in charge. A tendency may be found in the case of some European powers to regard a mandatory relationship as a full equivalent to complete possession or annexation.

It is to be noted that if the high ideals of mandatory government are realized for ex-German and ex-Turkish

territories the result will probably be of enormous value, not simply to these territories, but also by analogy to all other territories under European colonial government. For example, the colonial policy of France in Algeria and Tunisia, which constitute integral parts of France's world kingdom, may be profoundly influenced by the policy which France will be expected to observe under the mandatory system of government in any territory which may be assigned to her by a mandate of the nations.

III. The Basis and Limits of Missionary Rights

The question of the rights of religious propaganda has been raised in a sharper form as a result of the war. There are a number of distinctions and observations which now more than ever will conduce to clear thinking on the subject of missionary rights in relation to the political affairs of foreign government.

1. *Missionary Liberty versus Religious Liberty.*

Missionary liberty is closely related to religious liberty. But it is important to recognize the distinction between the two. Missionary liberty goes farther than religious liberty. Religious liberty is simply the right of any adherent of a particular religion to conduct the religious exercises of his own religion for his own enjoyment and advantage. Missionary liberty is the freedom to propagate by peaceful and approved methods one religion among the adherents of another.

In connection with the peace negotiations at Paris it developed that the requirements of religious liberty might become deeply involved in political questions. In Poland, for example, religious liberty involved an extended definition of the rights of political minorities in civic representation, in the maintenance of public schools, and in permission to use a particular language. The missionary enterprise is vitally interested in all efforts made to

safeguard religious liberty, for religious liberty is the appropriate background for missionary liberty.

2. *Mandatory Government versus Foreign Government.*

It is important to observe here that a very marked difference obtains between the right which may be claimed from a foreign power in territory which is an integral part of that nation's world empire, and what may be claimed from that same power in a territory which it administers under a mandate of the League of Nations. In the first case, the foreign missionaries have no absolute rights within the territory of that power, save those rights which that power is pleased to afford to foreigners and foreign missionaries within its territories. In the second case, claims can undoubtedly be built up on the basis of the fact that the power in control is in fact a trustee for all nations and, save where administrative efficiency would be interfered with, is bound to accord to the citizens of any other country the same privileges as are accorded by it to its own citizens within that territory. It is true, however, that a very powerful and influential analogy will be built up for all colonial policy out of the altruism or the disinterested policies which may be evolved under the mandatory system of government.

3. *Moral Rights versus Legal Rights.*

The distinction between moral and legal rights of missions and missionaries was fully discussed at Edinburgh in the Report of Commission VII. Here it is sufficient simply to point out that the only legal rights which any mission or missionary has in any country are those which are based upon the laws made by the government in control or upon treaties existing between that power and the government of the mission or missionary. The liberties accorded may be inadequate under these laws and

treaties. The limitations may be morally unjust. The missionary may record his dissatisfaction and protest. He may even get his own government to make representations in order to have limitations removed. In the future the League of Nations may be a happy instrument through which such representations may be made in a friendly and yet influential way. But it needs to be remembered that the mission and the missionary have no legal right to proceed on a given course which is not allowed by the laws or the treaties made by the power in control. It may be granted, as a matter of theory, that any missionary has a moral right to court imprisonment or even death as a protest against an unjust law, but he has no legal right to proceed in defiance of that law, and if he chooses so to do, he must not ask for the support of his country or countrymen while he suffers as a lawbreaker. It is the duty of the missionary constantly to seek, by proper representations or by proper methods of awakening public opinion, to lift the laws of a country to the point where they will accord with that which is morally right. It is certain that the situation will be extremely rare where a genuine moral compulsion will lay upon the missionary the obligation to go farther and to defy the law by claiming what he may think to be his moral rights, but which are not his legal rights.

4. *Individual Action versus Corporate Action.*

The opinion expressed at the Edinburgh Conference has been confirmed in these years since 1910, that it is important to have the corporate judgment of an entire mission to serve always as the corrective to the individual judgment of a single missionary in all matters that relate to foreign governments. The last person to make representations to the government is the individual who has been aggrieved. In the long run, the consensus of the many will serve as a wise balance to the judgment of the individual, and will exert a much more far-reaching

influence upon one's own government and upon foreign governments than the representation of an individual missionary. The sympathetic relationship of a mission with the government in control and the prestige of a mission because of its wise and sound policies across years are values of enormous importance. It should not be possible to have them dissipated by some single exhibition of rashness or even of righteous indignation.

In the light of the foregoing paragraphs it will be seen that no absolute definition can be given as to the right of the missionary in the matter of religious propaganda. The missionary is, after all, bound by the laws of the country where he serves. Where these laws do not seem to make clear the limits of his rights, he may properly argue, first, from the liberty accorded to other religions, even the religion of the country, in the matter of religious propaganda; and, secondly, from the liberty accorded in the country to political propaganda. He may also make full use of the privileges that would be granted administratively by some liberal-minded executives of the government, who accord at that time, or have accorded at some previous time, larger liberties than are commonly granted. Nor does the missionary need to become the creature of the government. While individual executives may become irritated by criticism of their political policies, it is doubtful whether, with the democratic conceptions which prevail at the present time, any government would wish to see the suppression of independent thinking or of independent expression of public opinion, both of which have their place in the body politic. However, where the power in control belongs to another race and nationality than the people governed, the missionary laboring in that territory will do well—indeed it will be his duty—to measure carefully the indirect effects of a purely religious propaganda. If he has a duty toward truth, he also has a duty toward the government under which he works.

IV. Need of an International Missionary Agency

Should a league of nations be established or should any other agency be set up through which the new international life of the world may function, it will fall to the missionary agencies of the world likewise to develop, more fully than has been developed in the past, some central world agency through which their common judgment may be expressed and their united policies find realization. Where the past has emphasized the need for national organizations of missionary agencies which might make representation to the governments of these agencies, the time has now come for the development of an international missionary agency which may represent the missionary agencies of the whole world to the new international agency which the war is setting up under the heading of the League of Nations. It will be difficult at best to bring any adequate influence to bear upon the political policies of the League of Nations. Enormous forces will be operating for evil. It will not be easy to resist them. The united strength and influence of missionary agencies throughout the world will be required. The present situation calls, therefore, for missionary statesmanship and missionary unity on a scale never realized in the past.

In the light of the foregoing statement, the hand of God can be seen guiding the missionary enterprise and preparing it for the present world situation. The World Missionary Conference in 1910 gave birth to the World Missionary Continuation Committee. During the days preceding the war this international missionary agency developed and strengthened the spirit of international cooperation. In order not to contravene the ideals of a perfect international cooperation the Continuation Committee did not function during the war, inasmuch as it had upon its membership representatives of the warring countries. There was created, however, a special international committee, called the "Emergency Committee

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of Cooperating Missions," representing the Allied countries and such neutral countries as were able or willing to cooperate, and this Committee continued to function in an international way in behalf of the missionary agencies of the world. It was left to the future to determine whether the Emergency Committee of Cooperating Missions should be made a permanent organization, its representation being made complete by the addition of representatives from the missionary agencies of the Central Powers, or whether some new form of international missionary organization would be preferable. Owing to the direct contact which this Committee has with the missionary agencies of the world, it would seem to be wise to commit to it exclusively all dealings with the League of Nations and its international sub-committees in matters that concern the Christian missionary agencies of the world.[1]

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[1] The present membership and organization of the Committee is as follows: Chairman, John R. Mott; Secretaries, J. H. Oldham, Kenneth Maclennan; Membership: (American) James L. Barton, Arthur J. Brown, W. I. Chamberlain, Canon S. Gould, Frank Mason North, Mrs. Henry W. Peabody, Charles R. Watson; (British) Canon C. B. Bardsley, Mrs. Creighton, J. N. Ogilvie, J. H. Ritson, C. E. Wilson, The Bishop of Winchester; (French) Daniel Couve; (Swedish) Karl Fries.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I
SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

Part I

The Enhanced Significance and Urgency of Foreign Missions in the Light of the War

Chapter I. *Foreign Missions as a Preparation during the Past Century for the New Internationalism.*

1. Foreign missions has been during the past century a great factor in promoting in the East the development of national aspirations, on which true internationalism has to be built.

2. But Christian missions, while ministering to the national group, has always assumed the unity of the human race and has regarded nations not as ends in themselves but as potential constituents of a world-wide brotherhood.

3. Economic interests have facilitated international intercourse, but have rested too much on a basis of narrow self-interest to be able to afford sufficient foundations for social order and good will.

4. Foreign missions has been the greatest agency making for the new internationalism based on the ideal of cooperation and mutual service, for

a. It has been the basis for the best there is in the confidence that the nations of the East and the West have in each other as moral institutions.

b. It has been breaking down racial barriers, building up interracial friendships, and interpreting East and West to each other.

c. By its relief of suffering and its social service it has incarnated the spirit of brotherhood and been a living assertion that there is idealism and altruism in the Western world.

d. It has been developing a native leadership sympathetic to democracy and internationalism.

5. The ultimate reason why foreign missions has been a great preparation for the new internationalism is found in the Christian conception of God.

Chapter II. *What Foreign Missions Can Contribute to an Effective League of Nations.*

1. Any league of nations, to be effective, must be underwritten with the spirit of foreign missions.
2. The service of missions to a league is not connected with its form of organization or with the direct work of the missionaries, but lies in the realm of adequate motives, without which any league will be lifeless machinery.
3. Foreign missions will serve the League of Nations
   a. By developing a body of people committed to the idea of brotherhood.
   b. By stimulating the spiritual forces of service and sacrifice on which alone the effectiveness of a league finally depends.
   c. By providing the attitude of faith that is indispensable to so untried an undertaking.
   d. By developing a spirit of mutual understanding that encourages rational methods of dealing with differences in human relations.
   e. By providing a common interest and the bond of a common religion, without which a full and permanent brotherhood is impossible.
4. Even after the adoption of a league the Christians of the world will be called upon to give their best efforts to make it conform increasingly to the spirit of Christ, but there will be no more direct service that they can render than to strengthen the missionary program.

Chapter III. *Foreign Missions and Democracy in Non-Christian Lands.*

1. Democracy and Christian missions are concerned with each other because of the religious foundations which democracy needs.
2. There is a rising tide of democracy throughout the world, and particularly in Asia, manifesting itself in
   a. Increased national and racial consciousness.
   b. Growing desire for democratic institutions.
3. Among the chief causes contributing to this new self-consciousness are:

a. Certain inherently democratic aspects in the structure of Asiatic life.

b. The expansion of European colonial empires by military force.

c. International commerce and the clash of the developing capitalistic forces of East and West.

d. Political events of world-wide significance, such as the Japanese victory over Russia and the World War.

e. Foreign missions and its gospel of the worth of the human soul.

4. The rising social unrest presents a new challenge to Christian missions, which can make fundamental contributions by

a. Holding up the ideal of a truly democratic fellowship in all social relationships.

b. Emphasizing both by its message and by its education and social service the inherent value of all human life.

c. Helping to develop a Christian industrial order, free from ruthless competition.

d. Proclaiming the ideal of social responsibility.

5. To accomplish this task the most indispensable condition is that the West come to a more Christian attitude toward the other races of the world.

Chapter IV. *The Enlarged Outlook of Foreign Missions.*

1. The new social and international conditions, created or intensified by the war, give us a clearer conception of the task of missions not simply as the conversion of individuals but as the creation of a Christian society throughout the world.

2. Certain great phases of the missionary task, therefore, now need special recognition and emphasis:

a. Christianizing nations. The legitimacy of proper nationalism is assumed and Christianity is presented as the power without which the highest nationhood cannot be realized.

b. Nationalizing Christianity. If Christianity is ever to permeate and control the life of a nation, it must develop according to the native genius.

c. Christianizing internationalism. The breakdown of even the so-called Christian world because

its international relations rested on unchristian principles presents a new occasion for proclaiming that the only foundations of the ordered life of the world are found in the Christian Gospel.

d. The internationalizing of Christianity. This demands a fuller recognition of the universal character of Christianity and the acceptance by the whole Church of its world responsibility.

Part II

The Effect of the War on the Religious Outlook in Various Lands

Chapter V. *The Effect of the War on the Vitality of the Non-Christian Religions.*

Introduction: Upon the other religions of the world, as well as upon Christianity, the effects of the war have been diverse—in part revivifying and in part weakening.

1. Hinduism.
   a. The organization of a Hindu missionary society and the publication of "Hinduism, the World-Ideal" indicate a new vitality and world outlook.
   b. The effect of the war contacts in breaking down caste will probably loosen further the decreasing hold of Hinduism on the present generation.
2. Shinto.
   a. Japan's new international relations have led to a claim of the universality of Shinto.
   b. On the whole, Shinto appears to be on the decline, even the Bushido code having lost prestige.
3. Confucianism.
   a. The implicit universalism of Confucianism has become explicit in a proposal for universal peace on Confucian principles, and Confucianism has been stimulated to a reinterpretation of the idea of God, to a revival of the teaching of universal love, and to the worship of popular war deities.
   b. But the Confucian aristocratic and retrospective ideals are incompatible with China's modern progressive and democratic ideals.
4. Buddhism.
   a. In Siam official attempt was made to associate winning the war with the favor of Buddhist deities.

b. There continues, however, to be a general decline of Buddhism's hold in most of the Far East.

5. Mohammedanism.

The failure of the Holy War and the downfall of the Turkish Sultan have been serious blows at least to the political power of Islam. (See also under Chapter XII.)

Chapter VI. *The War and New Influences among Oriental Women.*

1. There has been an awakening of a new national, and even international, consciousness among women of the Orient during the war, due to

a. The going of their men abroad.

b. Their own participation in Red Cross relief.

2. There is an increasing sense of feminine freedom, manifesting itself particularly in

a. Interest in social questions.

b. Concern over health and sanitation.

c. Interest in higher education.

3. The increasing entrance of women into modern industry marks a new era full of new dangers, both physical and moral.

4. In this period of growing unrest and questioning among the women of the Orient there is more urgent need for the full Gospel of Christ.

Chapter VII. *The War and the Missionary Outlook in India.*

1. The going of 1,000,000 Indians abroad has greatly accelerated the breaking down of India's isolation.

2. The war has accelerated the coming of self-government and led to a definite promise of home rule.

a. The resistance to the Rowlatt legislation, however, now intensifies racial bitterness.

b. The need for character in order to assume the responsibility of self-government affords the missionary a new appeal.

c. Progress toward democratic government presents a new demand for education of the masses.

d. It need not be feared that self-government will result in discrimination against missions.

3. Under stress of war necessities the Government has initiated a new industrial program of state assistance

to industries. Industrial and agricultural work now need a large emphasis in missionary activity, both in order that the Christian community may become self-supporting and that the industrial development of the country may not be outside of religious influences.

4. The war has helped to give a new place to women, along educational, social, and even political lines.

5. The war has helped to create a new conscience on the subject of strong drink.

6. On missionary work the war has had the effect of
   a. Creating a new national spirit in the Indian Churches.
   b. Developing readiness for cooperation.
   c. Emphasizing the need of church unity.

Chapter VIII. *The War and the Missionary Outlook in China.*

1. The political effects of the war are complex and not yet entirely clear, but it may at least be said that
   a. Japanese economic and political control over China has been strengthened.
   b. The peace settlement appears at present unsatisfactory, but there are hopeful possibilities in a league of nations.
   c. Internally there has been great discord.

2. In mission work the war has accelerated certain tendencies already present before the war:
   a. Increased emphasis on unity and cooperation.
   b. A tendency to centralize responsibility.
   c. An increased emphasis on native leadership.
   d. Growth in responsibility and self-consciousness in the native Church.
   e. A more cordial attitude toward Christians as identified with national aspirations.
   f. A new emphasis on the relation of Christianity to the needs of the nation.

3. The work of the German missions has been brought to a standstill, presenting a problem for the future.

4. Certain undetermined developments in China's international relationships may greatly affect the missionary movement for good or ill:
   a. Japan's increased power.
   b. America's attitude.
   c. The policies of the Allies in economic matters.

Chapter IX. *The War and the Missionary Outlook in Japan.*

1. The war has stimulated the progress of democratic ideals, due largely to America's part in the war.
2. The participation of the United States in the war has resulted in a greatly enhanced respect for America, still coupled with doubts as to her genuine altruism.
3. There is a growing spirit of internationalism, paralleled, however, by an aroused nationalism.
   a. The militaristic party, which has been responsible for the imperialistic policies in Korea and China, seems gradually losing its hold, but is still powerful.
   b. Bushido, the boast of patriotic conservatives, has fallen in public esteem.
4. There is a fresh realization of the need of something to reenforce morality.
5. The great industrial expansion during the war has seriously accentuated social problems, manifested in the rice riots and in the formation of the first labor unions.
6. These changes make consequent demands in missionary work.
   a. More exacting requirements in missionaries.
   b. Continued financial help.
   c. Better Christian educational institutions, in the light of rising governmental standards.
   d. Increased attention to social service.
   e. Increased need for indigenous Christian literature.

Chapter X. *The War and the Missionary Outlook in Korea.*

1. The emphasis on democracy and self-determination has produced a strong demand for independence among Koreans and strongly repressive measures on the part of the Japanese Government.
2. The reaction of the liberal party in Japan has led to the appointing of a new government in Korea, but with small possibility of effecting a reconciliation.
3. Koreans and Japanese are so dissimilar in history, character, and interests as to find it exceedingly difficult to live together.
4. The present confusion makes the missionary task more difficult and the immediate outlook unfavorable.

a. The thought of independence so occupies the Korean's mind that religion is crowded out, though some turn to God as a refuge in hardship.

b. There is a more materialistic tendency.

c. The Japanese Government is suspicious of Christianity as conducive to the spirit of revolt.

d. The Korean has less reliance on the Westerner than formerly.

e. The spirit of reaction against the old ways results in impatience with Christian ethics.

Chapter XI. *The War and the Missionary Outlook in Africa.*

1. The participation of 1,000,000 Africans in the war and the severe campaigns in Africa have resulted in

a. Economic distress and industrial unrest.

b. Increased dependence on whites in primitive areas, but in more settled areas racial bitterness.

2. Intellectually and spiritually there is great confusion, parallel with confused social conditions.

3. The political effects may prove to be far-reaching.

a. There will probably be better government under British control, perhaps also under French, than under German.

b. The mandatory system may result in restraints on the exploitation of the native, if Christian sentiment is brought strongly to bear.

c. There is a growing demand for democratic government.

d. There is a crying need for a right settlement of the land problem to secure native tenure.

4. The new situation may affect missionary opportunity because of

a. The questioning attitude of the native mind.

b. The stimulation of liberal government.

c. Possible removal of restrictions on Protestant work in certain large areas.

5. In missionary method the new situation emphasizes

a. The need of a social message and program.

b. Giving responsibility to the native Church.

c. The need of industrial training.

d. The necessity for cooperation.

e. The increasing part America must play.

f. Need for provision of opportunity for missions by Germans and by American Negroes.

Chapter XII. *The War and the Missionary Outlook in Mohammedan Lands.*

A. The New Situation between Islam and Christianity.

1. The war has had tremendous bearing on the political status of Islam:

a. The failure of the Jihad and of the Pan-Islamic movement shows the impossibility of the old Islam as a unified system of Church-State.

b. If the present development of nationalism should be carried through logically, the unity of the Moslem world would vanish.

c. With the breakdown of the Ottoman Empire the status of the Caliph will be changed.

2. The bearing of the war on Islam as a religion is uncertain:

a. The split both within Christendom and within Islam will probably tend to break down the old absolute division.

b. The political debacle of Islam may result in trying it out as a spiritual religion and comparing it with Christianity.

3. Certain problems for the missionary have come into sharper focus:

a. Can we convince Moslems that Christianity is a real religion—i.e., mystical?

b. Can our medical and educational missions be real centers of spiritual life?

c. Can we convince Moslems that their democratic unity will not suffer under Christianity and that they need not be estranged from their past?

d. Can we convince them, in the midst of a rising materialism, that any religion is worth while?

B. The Effect of the War on Certain Mohammedan Lands.

1. *Egypt:* The sympathies of Moslems in Egypt were anti-Ally. There was widespread political unrest, not allayed by the collapse of Turkey.

2. *Arabia:* The loyalty of the Arabs to the Allies and the setting up of the independent Moslem state of Hejaz were due more to diplomacy than to hostility to Turkey. There is disappointment at the collapse of Turkey. The expulsion of the Turk from Arabia has opened up to missionary work certain areas hitherto closed.

3. *India:* Moslem soldiers fought with the Allies. There is, however, a disheartening sense of the decline of the prestige of Islam and a desire that Great Britain save the Turkish power. Many Moslems are bewildered and open to tactful approach.

4. *Malaysia:* In the British area, Moslems were loyal beyond question, and the collapse of Turkey has lessened confidence in political Islam. In the Dutch area, where the Pan-Islamic movement was stronger, it now seems weak, and the missionary opportunity is enhanced.

5. *China:* China was too far distant to be seriously affected by Pan-Islamic propaganda. There is a revival of interest in missions to Moslems which is hopeful.

6. *Central and South Africa:* The call to a Holy War was a total failure. In Central Africa the Moslem soldiers carried on effective proselyting work in the army. In South Africa Islam is weaker, but is aggressive.

Chapter XIII. *The War and the Missionary Outlook in Latin America.*

1. Great economic changes have been effected:
   a. A turning to the United States for financial help.
   b. New efforts for economic freedom through increased production at home.
   c. Development of the labor movement and resulting industrial problems.
   d. New attention to Latin America given by other countries because of her enormous resources.
2. The outstanding political change occasioned by hostility to Germany was a new attitude of friendliness toward the United States.
3. Significant spiritual changes have resulted:
   a. An increased open-mindedness.
   b. The facing of problems of moral decision due to the challenge of war.
   c. New interest in philanthropic and social work.
   d. A new religious note, manifested in a marked interest in Protestant teachings, a lessening of confidence in the Catholic Church, and a readiness of government authorities to cooperate with missions in establishing schools.
4. Serious dangers may arise in the new situation:
   a. Evils of commercial rivalry.

b. The domination of American financial interests, illustrated by the present propaganda for intervention in Mexico.

c. Suspicion of military power of the United States and its imperialistic program in the Caribbean.

d. Emphasis on militarism and materialism.

e. An unrestrained development of radicalism.

5. An enlarged social program for the missionary enterprise is demanded.

Part III

Missionary Principles and Policies in the Light of the War.

Chapter XIV. *The Effect of War on Missionary Spirit and Activity.*

1. The period following the war witnesses a quickening of missionary activity and suggests an historical inquiry into the effect of war in general on missionary spirit and activity. Such an inquiry reveals that, although war is a spiritual disaster, there are certain indirect compensations that may be a stimulus to foreign missions.

2. Although war leads to a temporary disruption of unity, the final result is often a larger and higher unity.

a. The war at Jerusalem in 70 A. D. and the scattering of the Christians saved the missionary character of Christianity.

b. The break-up of the Roman Empire by barbarian invasions issued in at least the nominal Christianizing of Europe.

c. Military expansion often indirectly serves the cause of missions by increasing facilities for contact with non-Christian peoples.

3. The stirring of the spirit of sacrifice and the enlarging of vision as a result of war have often stimulated the missionary spirit.

a. The period following the French and the American Revolutions saw the founding of the early British and American missionary societies.

b. The period of the American Civil War saw the founding of the women's missionary societies.

4. The expansion of Christianity into territories opened up by wars has led to its enrichment.

5. The World War may prove to be the greatest illustration yet seen of each of these three effects observed in other wars.

Chapter XV. *Lessons from the War as to Propaganda for Missions.*

1. The acceptance and justification of the idea of propaganda during the war ought to remove all objections to the propagandist character of missions.

2. From the war propaganda missions may learn:

a. That the public is prepared for propaganda.

b. That ideas are contagious when effectively set forth.

c. That facts plus personality are most effective as revealed in the "four-minute men."

d. That the primary appeal should be for life.

e. That careful surveys of forces needed are essential to securing the forces.

f. That organization and expenditure for popular education are justified.

g. That men are appealed to by big tasks and that unity is essential to success.

3. But there were also tendencies in war-time propaganda that we need to avoid:

a. Trying to accomplish effective results without a long-continued educational process.

b. Appealing to unworthy motives or exaggerating the facts.

c. Trying to build spiritual movements too much on abnormal pressure or high tension methods.

4. In the appeal of the war propaganda we find certain motives to which missions may wisely appeal:

a. Desire for unselfish world-wide service.

b. Sympathy for the suffering and unfortunate.

c. The heroic spirit.

Chapter XVI. *New Demands Regarding the Character and Training of Missionaries.*

1. The enlarging responsibilities demand not only more men but unusual personality and training.

2. Certain elements of personality ought now to be

emphasized in addition to all the excellent qualities called for in the past.

a. An international mind.

b. A sense of brotherhood, free from any feeling of superiority.

c. A socialized outlook, consonant with the enlarged social task.

d. A disposition toward cooperation.

e. A clearly Christocentric emphasis.

f. An appreciation of the vital truths in non-Christian thought.

3. Certain courses of training need now to be emphasized, in addition to former standard requirements:

a. The history of non-Christian areas and of our relations with them.

b. The study of the statesmanship of missions.

c. The acquisition of sound experience in forms of social and community service.

d. The study of the religions of the world and of Christianity in a scientific comparison.

e. A more vital study of the various ways in which religion may take hold of life.

Chapter XVII. *Reconsideration of Missionary Methods in the Light of the New Situation.*

1. In interpreting the message: We have a fuller appreciation of the need for a message distinctly spiritual and so unified as to apply to all of life.

2. In the delivery of the message:

a. In evangelism: Our new realization of the power of the spoken word should lead to greater emphasis on oral preaching.

b. In education: Thorough reconsideration is necessary, with a view to establishing higher standards, securing more adequate material equipment, providing industrial and professional training, and safeguarding the religious interests of mission schools.

c. In medical work: The experience of the medical corps of the army in sanitation and preventive work suggests a similar program for missions.

d. In social service: The experience of welfare agencies in the army suggests the need for a greater variety of Christian social service.

3. In the indigenous Church: Greater attention to its development is called for by the present emphasis on self-determination.

4. In administration:

a. Thorough surveys are found a prerequisite.

b. Specific men must be chosen for specific needs.

c. The need for fuller cooperation is one of the clearest lessons from the war and needs to be applied among the missions on the field, between missions and the indigenous Church, and between field and home base.

d. In finances it is important that estimates be based not on past records but on needs, that expenditures be directed to substantial advance, that accounting be made with scrupulous care.

e. Furloughs need to be used more efficiently.

5. A general speeding-up is demanded, consonant with the new opportunity.

Chapter XVIII. *The War and the Literary Aspects of Missions.*

1. The printed word was a major factor in war propaganda, and its significance for Christian propaganda is greater than usually realized, for

a. It is the method which reaches the maximum numbers.

b. Through the printed word repeated impression is possible.

c. It makes possible a more exact like-mindedness than oral tradition can secure.

2. A wider range and a more effective kind of missionary literature are demanded.

3. Authors with some technical training are more largely needed, especially native authors.

4. The printing press is of key importance in mission stations, and a traveling printing expert is needed.

5. In distribution:

a. The war propaganda has revealed the value of free distribution, provided the material is really effective.

b. The best way of increasing sales is to produce literature of intrinsic value.

c. The factor of loan libraries, both abroad and at home, deserves vastly greater attention.

d. There may be possibilities in Christian poster propaganda.

6. Getting literature read is a problem unsolved.

7. There is a great possibility and necessity of co-operation, both in production and distribution.

Chapter XIX. *Missions and American Business and Professional Men Abroad.*

1. The effect for good or ill of Western business and professional men in non-Christian lands is increasingly important because of post-war expansion of trade.

2. There is needed on the missionary's part a larger appreciation of the importance of the business man's contribution to the people's life and on the business man's part an intelligent appreciation of missions.

3. There are certain things that can be done on the field to secure better understanding and cooperation:

a. The union church and the private school are important agencies for bringing missionaries and other foreign groups together.

b. Larger salaries to missionaries would make larger social contact possible.

c. The business contacts of missions should conform to the highest standards.

4. Other efforts need to be made here at home:

a. More effective missionary education and propaganda, so that missions will be elevated to a new dignity in the estimation of the general public.

b. Contacts between missionary bodies and foreign trade agencies.

c. Special efforts to induce church members engaged in foreign trade to select foreign representatives with attention to moral and religious life.

Chapter XX. *The Bearing of Economics and Business on Foreign Missions.*

1. Economics and business, formerly placing an individualistic competitive principle at their center, had little regard for foreign missions, which rests on an ideal of human solidarity and social responsibility.

2. The science of economics is now passing beyond the old individualism and is coming to regard "social

utility" as the fundamental standard, as expressed, for example, in

a. The modern justification of private property.
b. The principle underlying modern taxation.
c. The theory of the control of corporations.
d. The basis of national prohibition.

3. Economics, therefore, is coming to have Christian foundations.

4. There are also hopeful signs that the success of business is gradually coming to be judged not on the basis of private profit but of public service.

5. So long as Western business proceeds on a basis of selfishness, it denies the Christian Gospel that the missionary from the West is proclaiming.

6. When economics and business both come to rest on Christian principles they will be great missionary agencies.

Chapter XXI. *Missionary Agencies in Relation to Students from Other Lands.*

1. The war has resulted in a great increase of interest in American educational institutions, so that more foreign students than ever are coming to the United States.

2. Because of who they are and of who they are to be they present a great missionary responsibility.

a. A great percentage are here because of missionary encouragement, but only about twenty-five per cent are Christians.
b. They are sensitive, impressionable, responsive to friendly courtesy and Christian appeals.
c. Those who have returned without becoming Christians are a hindrance to missionary work, but others have made tremendous contributions.

3. The visits of increasing numbers of Oriental travelers in this country afford similar opportunities.

4. There are many ways in which Christians and churches can help these foreign students.

a. Invite them to church services, social gatherings, and especially to their homes.
b. Invite them to speak to churches, young people's meetings, etc.
c. Render helpful ministries and give personal encouragement.

5. Mission board secretaries and returned missionaries may well consult them on matters of policy.

Chapter XXII. *The Foreign Policies of the United States and the Success of Foreign Missions.*

1. With the new international relationships of the United States, the bearing of our foreign policies on the success of foreign missions becomes even greater.

2. Certain Christian attitudes on the part of the United States toward other lands in the last century have had an incalculably beneficial effect on Christian missions, notably in China and Japan.

3. Certain unchristian policies of the United States have had and are now having most hurtful effects on missions in Africa, Japan, China, and Latin America.

4. The Churches must therefore bend every energy to Christianizing our national attitudes and policies.

a. Mission study textbooks and other agencies of Christian education are needed for informing the Christian public concerning our international responsibilities.

b. Missionary leaders have a particular responsibility for leading the way in creating a more Christian international program.

c. The Foreign Missions Conference should appoint a committee on international friendship, to cooperate with the World Alliance for International Friendship, in order to arouse the Churches to a realization of the situation and to action.

Chapter XXIII. *The Relation of Foreign Missions to International Politics.*

1. The war emphasized, as never before, the relationship of missions to the political affairs of governments.

2. The question whether missionary enterprise and its agents could be regarded as supra-national was definitely raised, and the recognition of the trust character of enemy missionary property was secured although a similar status for the missionary could not be secured.

3. The proposed League of Nations should have far-reaching significance for the missionary enterprise, but its usefulness depends largely on its personnel.

4. The proposed plan of mandatories would be in the direction of enthroning the missionary spirit in gov-

ernment, but unless carefully safeguarded may become only a cloak for exploitation.

5. The question of missionary liberty is raised in a sharper form by the new contacts with governments.

a. Religious liberty is essential to missionary liberty but missionary liberty goes further, involving the right of propaganda.

b. The mandatory system of government, being based on an altruistic ideal, ought to tend in the direction of safeguarding missionary rights.

c. When a missionary's legal rights fall below his moral rights, he should conform to existing laws while endeavoring to modify them.

d. In matters pertaining to foreign governments, corporate action by a mission rather than action by individuals should be taken.

6. There will now be greater need for a central world agency of Christian missions, interdenominational and international in character.

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APPENDIX II

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Following is a brief bibliography of a few of the more important publications that have appeared during the war bearing on subjects discussed in this volume.

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